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**LEARNERS EXPOSURE TO GANG VIOLENCE  
AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN HIGH-RISK  
BEHAVIOUR:**

*A study in a Western Cape High School*

By

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## DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

SIGNATURE

Signed by candidate

DATE 09 February 2004

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the present study is to assess the level of learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of a selected secondary school in the Western Cape. The study was exploratory and a self-report questionnaire – 'School Safety Survey' devised by Cornell and Loper of the Virginia University School Project, appropriately modified to fit the South African context was employed to gather qualitative and quantitative data. Disproportional stratified sampling was employed to select the initial sample of 125 learners because the race, grade and gender subgroups varied with regard to the proportion of their members appearing in the study population, but only a total of 112 learners attended school and participated in the study on the day. Even though the survey was administered to 112 learners, the researcher only retained 97 surveys that had complete data on all variables.

In this study descriptive statistics are used to analyse the demographic details of the final sample population. The chi-square test was used to determine if there are significant differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviours in and outside of school. The two factors that were considered to potentially impact on the scores obtained for these categories are Grade and Gender.

The survey results identified that in general, the observed frequency of learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence was relatively higher outside of school than their exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school. Moreover, there were also no statistically significant grade and/or gender differences in learners' overall exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and/or outside of school at 95% confidence level ( $p = 0.05$ ).

In addition the observed frequency of learners' overall participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour was relatively higher outside of school than in school. There were also no statistically significant grade and gender differences in learners' overall participation in high-risk behaviour in school at 95% confidence level ( $p=0.05$ ) but there were significant gender differences in learner's participation in high-risk behaviour outside of school.

In response to the findings a number of recommendations are made to stabilise and develop the school infrastructure, taking particular cognisance of the physical resources required for making the school a safer environment. In addition, it was proposed that educators create opportunities to develop leadership within the pupil body and introduce age-appropriate life skills and empowerment workshops to address the difficulties that these learners may experience.

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# **CHAPTER 1**

## **INTRODUCTION**

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## CHAPTER 1

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. INTRODUCTION

Schools, once a haven to which parents could send their children with confidence regarding their safety and protection, have become an environment in which violence is a frequent visitor. Current and recent reports tell us that today serious problems disrupt teaching and learning and threaten the safety of children and educators in many schools in the Western Cape. These problems include youth gang activities and other high-risk behaviour. Gangster recruitment has become a particularly frightening problem for some communities in the Western Cape. When learners refuse to join gangs, they face possible injury or death. (See Appendix 1)

This particular form of violence not only poses a serious challenge to the educational authorities in the Western Cape, but it arguably constitutes a serious threat to the general social order. Besides the obvious physical harm caused by exposure to violence in or outside of school, there can also be serious long-standing physical, emotional and psychological implications for both teaching staff and learners (MacGinnes, n.d.). These include “distress, reduced self-esteem, risk of depression and suicide, reduced school attendance, impaired concentration, fear and a diminished ability to learn” (World Health Organization as cited in Eliasov & Frank, 2000:1). There is also a continuous debate that children who have been victims of violence at a later stage are likely to choose or be drawn into methods of dealing with life problems in ways that transgress the law. This, in turn, may lead to vicious cycles of escalating violence, counter-violence and repression.

### **1.1.1. Defining gang violence and other high-risk behaviour**

A gang can be described as “a group of both juveniles and young adults who engage in a range of antisocial, violent, predatory and criminal-gain behaviour” (Spergel and Alexander, 1991). Gangs may be loosely or well-organised, with defining characteristics such as established rules of conduct, names, turf, colours, signs, symbols, and distinctive dress (National Education Association, 1997; Nawojczyk, 1997).

Traditionally, the primary function of the gang has been to establish or protect the group’s reputation and status. This continues to be true for many youth gangs today (Spergel and Alexander, 1991). Their principal activities include drug and weapon trafficking, recruiting new members and intimidating students or extorting money from them. These activities tend to arouse fear in students, cause absenteeism, disrupt teaching and learning, and result in outbreaks of violence (National Education Association, 1997).

In this study, ‘violence’ refers to interpersonal violence that includes emotional, verbal, physical assault and sexual assault by gang members and non-gang members. ‘High-risk behaviour’ refers to practices such as weapon carrying, fighting, and substance abuse. ‘Youth violence in schools’ refers to violence perpetrated by any young person or persons within the school grounds or in transit to and from school grounds (Cornell and Loper, 1998; Department of Education, Secretariat for Safety and Security and National Youth Commission, 1999).

## **1.2. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY**

While there is a widespread perception that youth violence in South African schools is prevalent, there is very little survey data on the extent of learners’ exposure to gang violence and their level of participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school (Department of Education et al 1999).



In studying the extent and effects of violence on adolescents, researchers have used the term “exposure to violence” to represent several different types of violence, such as television, media violence, domestic violence, political violence or sexual violence but not many refer to gang violence in and outside of school (Fitzpatrick and Boldizar; Gladstein Rusonis and Heald; Richers and Martines, as cited in Wynchank, 2000). Anecdotal information and media reports in South Africa do however indicate that gang violence can and does cause considerable damage and contribute significantly to crime and violence in the schools and communities where they operate. (Department of Education et al 1999).

The present study focuses on learners’ exposure to gang violence and their behavioral adjustment or participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. In particular, the study concerns working with learners at an anonymous suburban secondary school in a high-violent community in the Western Cape. The researcher believes that such an understanding would be significant in determining how the selected school can better respond to the educational and developmental needs of learners socialized in a disadvantaged, high-violent community.

The researcher who worked with the Department of Social Services, Cape Town, as an intern, selected the school because she was advised by the section supervisor to design and facilitate crime prevention workshops at the selected secondary school where children of school-going age are at a high risk of suffering from violence en route to or in school. While facilitating the crime prevention workshops at the selected secondary school among Grade 8 learners the researcher found that learners engage in a wide range of behavioral problems. Such behaviors were deeply troubling to the researcher, especially since both learners and teachers identified gang violence and other high-risk behaviours in and outside the school as a serious problem.

### **1.3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The study will be exploratory and will aim to:

- 1.3.1. assess learners' general knowledge of gangs
- 1.3.2. assess grade and gender differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school
- 1.3.3. compare learners exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school
- 1.3.4. assess how learners feel about the gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school
- 1.3.5. assess grade and gender differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school
- 1.3.6. compare learners' participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school.

### **1.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The study sample of Grade 8 to 12 learners ranging in age from 13 and 20 years has been drawn from one suburban secondary school, and therefore cannot be considered representative of all school environments in the Western Cape. Consequently, the results of this study cannot be applied generally to schools in the province or in the rest of the country.

Secondly, because the black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa or Zulu speaking learners), grade and gender strata or subgroups vary with regard to the proportion of their members appearing in the study population disproportional stratified sampling was used to ensure that the different groups of the population are sufficiently represented. However, even though some scientist may postulate that there may be significant race differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school, it is not the purpose of the study to investigate if there are significant race differences in learners' experience. This study will only investigate grade and gender differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school.

### **1.5. ETHICAL CONSIDERATION OF THE STUDY**

An ethical issue that concerned the researcher revolved around the possible impact upon the learner of completing the questionnaire. The questionnaire could evoke particular feelings of anxiety or fear within the individual and one must also question the possibility of endangering respondents by talking to them. Therefore, before the surveys were administered, the participants were thoroughly informed about the potential impact of the investigation and adequate opportunities were allowed for participants to ask questions to rectify any misperceptions. The researcher assured the learners, the headmaster and educators that strict confidentiality would be adhered to protect the privacy interests of learners and the school. Hence the surveys were anonymous and the classroom teacher was absent. Lastly, in relation to the release or publications of the findings, care will be taken to ensure that information given in confidence remains so.

### **1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The importance of identifying and accessing community and familial resources in reducing the impact of community violence, and consequently, trauma-related distress in children and adolescents has been emphasized by Kinnes (1995:7), who reported that “the task of making the Cape Flats less violent is a massive one, and the police alone cannot stop the crime and killing”.

Educators have often neglected the problem of school violence because of a tendency to view it solely as a criminal justice issue. Sometimes, school officials deny or minimize the scope and seriousness of gang and/or school violence problems, because admission to a serious problem may cast them in a bad light. However, school safety is an educational right, which is essential to the achievement of other desirable educational outcomes (Cornell and Loper, 1998).

Therefore, by means of this study the researcher wishes to increase the awareness of educators and school officials of the scope and nature of the problem with gang violence and learners’ participation

in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. Moreover, the researcher aims to encourage school officials to assume more responsibility in this area and to recognise quality public education as one of the most important tools in early intervention to prevent and deter juvenile delinquency or gang involvement.

## **1.7. ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY**

**Chapter two** provides an overview of the relevant literature, including both national and international studies, which deals with the function and effects of violence and gangsterism with specific reference to community (in and outside of school). Developmental considerations pertaining to adolescents are explored.

**Chapter three** gives a methodological account of the study, referring to issues of sampling, research design, instrument and procedure, including the researcher's contact with the authors of the Virginia University School Project. The chapter also provides as an assessment of the limitations and weaknesses of both the instruments and the study.

**Chapter four** presents the results of the study and a discussion of the main results.

In **Chapter five**, finally, recommendations are made to address the difficulties experience by learners.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **LITERATURE REVIEW**

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

*Children see violence all around them; it is a common place in their world.*

*It marks them, and haunts them, it moulds what they will become”.*

HOPE IN HELL\*

#### 2.1. INTRODUCTION

In South African townships, crime and violence in schools threaten the well being of young people. A great deal of the violence that children are exposed to is gang violence or gang-related crimes – such as rape, sexual assaults, murder, housebreaking, intimidation and harassment. The present study focuses on learners’ exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. Gang violence has been selected as the central focus of this study because of the high levels of violence plaguing numerous South African neighbourhoods, and a growing recognition that gangs can and may cause considerable damage and contribute significantly to crime and violence in the schools and communities where they operate. “Issues revolving around the effects of exposure to violence on children became a major area of social concern” (Pastor, 1988:4). Especially, if in some instances, children are exposed to violent events on a daily basis and there is no time to recover and to learn alternatives to violent behaviour (Stavrou, 1993).

Theories of aggression are numerous ranging from psychoanalytic explanations of Freud (1933) to behaviourist explanations of Dollard et al (1939) and Bandura and Walters (1963). The current most widely accepted form of behaviourist theory is Bandura’s Social Learning Theory, a continuous explanatory model of development, posits that imitation occurs across development. It predicts that

continued exposure to violent role models would be likely to lead to imitation and acceptance of violent conduct (Dawes, 1990). This implies that exposure to and participation in gang violence and other high-risk behaviour is likely to be emotionally damaging to children and produce generations of young people who come to see violence as an acceptable way of resolving conflict.

Given that the focus of this research is learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside the school, the following review is limited, but not exclusively, to those studies that have focused on these areas. Other community, household and parental factors which may impact directly and/or indirectly on child behavioural adjustment have additionally been examined (Van der Merwe, 2001)

In studying the extent and effects of violence the researcher discovered that not many researchers explored or investigated the level or extent of learners' exposure to gang violence in and outside of school. Most focused on general school-based violence, including incidents of thefts, vandalism, burglary, rape and even murder on school grounds. None reported or distinguished between violent activities perpetrated by gang members and/or non-gang members in and outside school.

The research documented in this chapter aims to describe patterns of exposure to violence of children living in economically disadvantaged, high-violent communities in the Western Cape. Secondly, before examining the effects of exposure to violence on children, it looks at factors that influence a child's response to gang violence. Thirdly, the "behavioral adjustment of children and adolescents growing up in high-risk neighbourhoods" and learners' participation in high-risk behaviour are investigated (van der Merwe, 2001: 1).

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\* Hope in hell / Bestall, Clifford; Joubert, Pearlie. Cape Town: Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), UCT Documents

## **2.2. LEARNERS' EXPOSURE TO 'VIOLENCE'**

South Africa has a long history of socio-politically motivated violence, which has recently been substituted by an alarming rise in criminal violence. (Barbarin & Richter as cited in van der Merwe, 2001). Children are exposed to violence directly (as victims of violent acts), indirectly (as witnesses), and increasingly, as perpetrators of violent acts. However, whilst investigating the nature and extent of learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour, the researcher discovered that literature specifically focusing on the developmental implications of such exposure for children growing up in high-violent communities is quite limited. To date, research in South Africa has tended to focus on the links between direct exposure to violence and emotional disorder. Comparatively, fewer studies have focused on the equally important concern of youths' socialisation into violent lifestyles. Internationally, relatively little theoretical or empirical research addresses the short- and long-term consequences of direct (being a victim) and indirect (witnessing) exposure to gang violence.

In addition, relatively little is known about the factors and growing up in communities plagued by gangsterism. According to Werner (as cited in van der Merwe, 2001), the phenomenon of resilience and the role of protective factors in the lives of individuals exposed to adverse conditions has only recently become an area of interest for researchers of family functioning and child development.

### **2.2.1. Violent crime against adolescents in the Western Cape**

South African youth, particularly those residing in high-violence communities in the Western Cape, are likely to have been exposed to high levels of community violence (including gang violence). Ensink, Robertson, Zissis and Leger (as cited in Wynchank, 2000) reported that in a sample of 60 children (10 – 16 years) from Khayelitsha (a disadvantaged high violence community), all had been

---

violence in a Cape Flats township and the effect on local youth. Videocassette (25 minutes)



exposed to indirect violence, 45% had witnessed at least one killing and 55% had witnessed at least one stabbing, shooting or other violent fight or attack. In a further study on youth in Khayelitsha, by Zissi, Ensink and Roberston (as cited in Wynchank, 2000), prevalence rates of exposure to violence were again high. Of the 504 subjects, with ages ranging from 9 - 20 years, 72% have reported that a stranger, 54% an acquaintance and 27% a family member, respectively, had threatened to shoot or stab them.

In addition, over 70% of a sample of primary school children living in the Lavender Hills/Steenberg area in the Western Cape reported exposure to a range of violent events, including direct exposure to physical assault, witnessing a person being arrested and witnessing being chased by a gang/individual (Van der Merwe & Dawes as cited in van der Merwe, 2001)

## **2.3. THE EFFECTS OF EXPOSURE TO VIOLENCE**

The threat or the experience of violence is generally experienced as stressful and traumatic, because it threatens our ability to cope and our personal safety, as well as the safety of our family, friends and community. However, Stavrou (1993), reported that studies that draws largely from animal studies, has found that exposure to consistent daily stressors results in resilience, but exposure to uncontrollable, unpredictable or severe stressors can be expected to lead to deficits.

### **2.3.1. Mediating factors**

Before the researcher discusses the actual effects of violence on children, it is necessary to look at factors that influence a child's response to exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour. Gibson (1989) found that these include characteristics of the child's experiences (e.g., nature, frequency, and severity of violence exposure, and prior history of trauma and violence exposure), the child's resources and vulnerabilities (e.g., temperament, intelligence, developmental

stage, social competence, and coping strategies), and social support both within and outside the family. However for the purposes of this study the researcher will discuss the five factors identified by Stavrou (1993) that can either ameliorate or exacerbate the consequences of violence exposure.

These five factors include:

- a. Intra-personal factors
- b. Inter –personal factors
- c. Social Support
- d. Dimension of the trauma
- e. Broader ideological context

a. Intra-personal factors

Studies on stress and on the psychology of children show that the child's age and stage of development are important in determining both their vulnerability to particular stressors and the way that they react. There is a big difference in the way a 5-, a 12- or a 20-year-old understand and cope with violence because of their capacity for understanding threat in abstract terms. Likewise, treatment strategies will differ according to the child's age and stage of development (Stavrou, 1993 and Dawes, 1990).

b. Inter-personal factors

Apart from their age, temperament, sex and physical health, the most immediate factor affecting children's reactions to violence is the family environment. Perry (2000), who focused on the neurodevelopmental consequences of violence on children, found that when the child's development is characterised by structure, predictability, nurturing, and enriching emotional, social and cognitive experiences, a vulnerable and powerless infant can grow to become a happy productive, insightful and caring member of society.

### c. Social Support

Children's development also depends on the strength of their social support systems, their relations with the people to whom they are closest. The support of friends, neighbours and some known members of authority may act as a buffer, a sort of shock absorber, to help individuals cope with stress (Stavrou, 1993). A particular source of support for young people is the school, which is ideally able to provide information, support and the calming influence of an on-going routine.

“Of course, education cannot remedy the evil, but because of the critical situation in which we find ourselves, the services that the school can render are of incomparable importance. After the family, it is arguably the most important space for young people to establish relationships, values, and the basis for future life choices. It provides a way of reaching at risk children that is likely to be more timely and positive for them and their families than the child protection or justice system. For it is through education and training that young women and men can be better prepared for life.

(Department of Education, the Secretariat for Safety and Security & the National Youth Commission, 1999).

### d. Dimension of the trauma

The nature of the traumatic experience itself also influences the nature of the stress response.

Children are differentially exposed to violence and affected to varying degrees (Levin, 1994). One can think of the violence in children's lives as falling on a continuum. According to Stavrou (1993)

National Institutes of Health (2003), they may be:

- a. witnesses to a violent event;
- b. active participants in the violence;
- c. direct victims of violence (such as being an assault or a rape victim), or
- d. indirect victims, an example being part of a family which suffers the effects of having a father in detention

This differential exposure to violence may determine how that child feels, thinks and reacts in the situation. The role the child adopted, the things they did or did not do and say, and the personal and moral conflicts that arise from this will further influence the emotional processing. Difficulties are more likely to arise if the stressor is intense or severe, is sudden, unanticipated and uncontrollable, is irregular or occurs in large chunks and involves such loss as bereavement, threat to life, personal injury or exposure to death. Other important elements include the duration of the event, whether it was experienced alone or with others, whether the threats involved in the event were single or multiple and whether there is a possibility that they may reoccur (Stavrou, 1993).

e. Broader ideological context

The values that individuals and families have are fundamentally influenced by the values and traditions of the broader society. A social order that favors tolerance of others and a legal, political and socio-economic system that is largely based on respect for human rights will serve to entrench such values in the workings of civil society (Stavrou, 1993).

### **2.3.2. The erosion of mediating factors**

In South Africa, according to Stavrou (1993), we find that the intra-personal factors; inter –personal factors; social support; dimension of the trauma and the broader ideological context protecting children against the effects of violence and teaching them alternatives to aggressive attitudes and violent behaviour have been eroded by the years of colonialism, apartheid and other forms of oppression. “Its effects in terms of exploitation and oppression is most apparent among the black majority and their children” in South African townships or historically disadvantaged community (Pastor, 1988:5).

High rates of concentrated poverty, violence, crime and substance use, and the absence of any effective social or cultural organisation are the critical features of such neighbourhoods. "High levels of unemployment result in isolation from legitimate labour markets, and undermine the relevance of completing school. Illegitimate enterprises and gangs emerge in these neighbourhoods, in part because the neighbourhood has no effective means of resisting such activity, and in part as a means of providing some stable social organisation for youth and some economy for the neighbourhood" (Elliot, 1994:5). The effect of living in such neighbourhoods can be devastating on the family's attempts to provide a healthy, conventional upbringing for their children.

Few families in South African townships can provide children with the most crucial support to cope with stress. This does not mean that poor families do not offer children support, but that poor families may, for example, live in dangerous environments, the parents might work long hours and not see much of their children. They may not have the time or energy to protect and comfort a child or have the resources to get specialised help for the child who may be showing the psychological effects of exposure to violence. Moreover, in situations of violence and danger, parents, without realising it, may often become distant from their children as they grieve for their own loss and cope with their own fear and anxiety. They may become unable to fulfil the role of parent, let alone compensate for the loss of their child's feelings of insecurity (Department of Education et al, 1999).

What we also find is that some schools in South African townships are disproportionately impacted by gang violence and cannot operate at the most basic level. Media reports indicate that gang turf wars spill onto school grounds because the school itself is a prized territory for selling drugs, collecting revenue from thefts, and recruiting gang members. Accounts were given of learners "who have been assaulted, raped and killed as a result of gang violence on school grounds. Gang members also allegedly intimidated and harassed learners on route to and from school and

demanded protection money” (Eliasov and Frank, 2000).

Children growing up in settings which are characterised by high-levels of violence and minimal parental supervision are often insecurely attached to their primary caregiver; and lack the trust, autonomy and initiative necessary for successful graduation from one developmental phase to another (Garbarino et al, Jenkins & Bell as cited in van der Merwe, 2001). As a result, developmental task accomplishments in children may vary according to the security of the caregiver-child attachments. Moreover, psychologists believe that the absence of effective psychological defences in young children render them vulnerable to exposure-related clinical and development impairment. Hence it is suggested that township youth - who have little or no recreational activities and minimal parental or adult supervision - need positive role models (Pretorius, 1999).

Unfortunately, in all of the communities besides the least violent community, Liddell et al (as cited in van der Merwe, 2001) found that young children have higher levels of contact with older antisocial males, which inadvertently was associated with higher levels of aggression in children. This relationship was attributed to male children modelling and imitating aggressive behaviour.

“Consequently many children in townships have not had a vehicle to consider, understand, and actively formulate responses to the violence that they have observed or experienced.

When such limited alternatives or few channels to process and understand these experiences are combined with high levels of victimization at an early age, a weak commitment to moral norms (internal controls) and little monitoring or supervision of behaviour (external controls), violent behaviour becomes rational among young people” (Elliot, 1994).

The findings reported thus far repeatedly indicate an association between exposure to violence and the development of aggressive and oppositional behaviour. South African children growing up in disadvantaged, high violence communities, in particular, appear to be vulnerable to the development of aggressive and oppositional tendencies in response to risk-exposure (Van der Merwe, 2001).

### **2.3.3. Short and long-term effects**

In respect of violent and non-violent outcomes, it is important not to adhere to a static view of victimization. Different theoretical discourse has generated two threads of arguments: one stressing the resilience of children, and the other emphasizing the detrimental effects of violent conflict.

Research has documented the short- and long-term detrimental effects of exposure to violence in children, adolescents, and adults. For the child witness to violence, the National Institutes of Health (2003) found that exposure can result in:

- a. immediate physical trauma (e.g., injuries and alterations in physiological arousal) and
- b. psychological trauma (e.g., post-traumatic stress symptoms)

Exposure can also contribute to:

- a. chronic physical problems (e.g., sleep and eating disturbances, disease, and illnesses),
- b. developmental problems (disturbances or delays in social, cognitive, affective, and language development),
- c. neurological problems (e.g., changes in the central nervous system), emotional (e.g., depression, anxiety, and hostility) and
- d. behavioural problems (e.g., aggression and antisocial behavior, alcohol and drug abuse, dating violence, social withdrawal and suicide attempts)”

#### a. Biological effects

Heim and Nemeroff (1999 as cited in Wynchank, 2000) examined the impact of early adverse experiences on brain systems involved in the pathophysiology of anxiety and affective disorders. Their findings demonstrate that a genetic predisposition coupled with early stress in critical phases of development may result in the phenotype that is neurobiologically vulnerable to stress, and may lower an individual's threshold for developing depression and anxiety upon further stress exposure. These effects on autonomic and behavioural stress responses need to be noted but will not be addressed further as they do not constitute the focus of this dissertation. However, they need to be recognized as an important component of trauma research.

#### b. Cognitive effects

According to Allen, Heston, Durbin and Pruitt, (as cited in Wynchank, 2000) children growing up in a persistently threatening environment develop stress-responses systems in midbrain and brainstem areas that are over reactive and hypersensitive. This may be highly adaptive, but profound cognitive disturbances may accompany this process, resulting in problems in meeting the cognitive expectations of school. This finding is consistent with Yules' studies (as cited in Wynchank, 2000) of child survivors of life-threatening disasters. He noted many children and adolescents experience difficulties in concentration as well as difficulty with mastering new material and in remembering old skills. Thus a posttraumatic response can adversely affect school performance, which contributes to a lowering of self-esteem. These effects on cognitive stress responses will not be addressed further as they do not constitute the focus of this dissertation. However, they need to be recognized as an important component of trauma research.



### c. Developmental effects

Several studies have demonstrated the importance of age and developmental factors in the response of youth who experience violence or trauma. Two trends emerge, those which focus on the psychiatric consequence, illustrating the children's maladaptation and those which focus on the children's 'normality', illustrating their resilience (Rabinowitz, 1988).

According to Stavrou (1993) children are psychologically more at risk than adults through violent experiences; they suffer a great deal and take much longer to recover from the immediate effects of violence if there are no significant adults and/or relevant treatment available to them. Their conceptual and emotional inabilities to properly understand the violent event, and to have some measure of control over their environment, are factors that mitigate against a swift recovery. Pre-school children's distress is most likely to manifest as passive responses and regressive symptoms, including bed-wetting, dependence, separation anxiety, and traumatic re-enactments in their play (Osofsky as cited in van der Merwe, 2001). School age children, in particular children in the latency age group (6-12 years), are thought to be most vulnerable to violence related stress symptoms. They are likely to display both aggression and inhibition, and report somatic complaints, cognitive distortions and deficits, often manifesting as learning difficulties (Rudenberg et al as cited in Department of Education et al, 1999). Adolescents' reactions to trauma more closely resemble the responses of adults, and include aggressive acts, self-destructive behaviour such as substance abuse, and anti-social behaviour (Jenkins as cited in van der Merwe, 2001). As can be noted, with age, trauma-related responses increasingly include anti-social or aggressive behaviours.

In their longitudinal study of Catholic and Protestant children in Ireland, Fields (as cited in Pastor, 1988:9) argues that children are being socialised to channel their fears and anger into violent modes of action. This is a view with which Schwartz (as cited in Pastor, 1988:8&9) concurs. According to

the school personnel Schwartz interviewed during her observational study, children showed deterioration in attitudes to authority figures and a decline in discipline. There appeared to be a greater incidence of aggressive acting-out and anti-social behaviour and a tendency to devalue human life. Such observation led them to suggest that children who are exposed to violence can develop a new moral norm and that violence can become a way of life which lead children being unable to control their own aggressive impulses, leading to a lowering of inhibition which in turn lead to more violent activity (Rabinowitz).

Contributing to the contrasting trend which emphasis resilience is McWither and Trew (as cited in Pastor, 1988) in their study entitled Children in Northern Ireland: A Lost Generation and Lorene and Branthwaite (as cited in Pastor 1988) in their study entitled 'Evaluations of Political Violence by English and Northern Irish Schoolchildren. Both studies cite findings attesting to the resilience and effective adaptation of children living within a context of civil strife. McWither and Trew (as cited in Pastor, 1988) noted that the Northern Irish children (who had never known peace) from all levels and sectors had a definite sense of right and wrong, revealing that their moral judgments about violence were congruent with traditional social norms. Lorene and Branthwaite (as cited in Pastor, 1988) who investigated attitudes to different categories of violence testing the effects of exposure to violence on attitudes by comparing a group of Irish and English children has drawn similar conclusions. The results indicated that the two groups showed no significant difference in their judgments and attitudes towards violence, which was generally regarded as undesirable. Nor did attitudes towards authority figures appear to be adversely affected by exposure to political violence.

#### d. Emotional and behavioural effects

As children are constantly exposed to violence and deteriorating social conditions, they may become emotionally insensitive or desensitised to acts of violence. Without early intervention, their behavioural patterns can spiral into a cycle of oppositional personal relationships, which can lead to lifelong anti-social patterns of behaviour including disturbances in self-esteem, trust, and emotion regulation, as well as difficulties in relationships with others (Stavrou, 1993).

Childhood experiences of violence may also include social difficulties (withdrawal and isolation), aggression, concentration/memory difficulties, hyper vigilance, loss or change in interests, fears, sleep disorders and impaired initiative. It can lead not only to outwardly directed aggressive behaviour, but also to self-destructive behaviour, for example, suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, promiscuity that may result in emotional and physical damage and depression. These general stress responses may develop into emotional, behavioural and somatic clusters that are more distinct and that indicate the existence of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). (Dawes, 1990 and Stavrou, 1993)

#### **2.4. LEARNERS' PARTICIPATION IN HIGH-RISK BEHAVIOUR**

As far as the degree to which acceptance of violence and other high-risk behaviours in and outside the school may generalise for young people or learners, it is commonly believed that the likelihood of community violence exposure increases significantly when children begin attending school (Department of Education et al, 1999). The patterns of behaviour learned in early childhood then carry over into the school context, which has its own potential for generating conflict and frustration and violent responses to these situations. Moreover, the effects of early exposure to violence, weak internal and family controls and aggressive behavior patterns developed in childhood all influence the type of friends one chooses, and the type of friend, in turn, largely determines what behavior

patterns will be modeled, established and reinforced during adolescence. The strongest and immediate cause of the actual onset of serious violent behaviour is the involvement with a delinquent peer group (gang). It is here that violence is modelled, encouraged, and rewarded, and justifications for disengaging one's moral obligations to others are taught and reinforced (Elliot, 1994).

In a study conducted by Eliasov and Frank (2000: 13) that gathered a broad base of information on crime and violence in twenty schools in Cape Town (eight were primary schools and twelve secondary schools), all respondents confirmed the pervasive influence of a gang culture amongst children and youth in their schools. This culture was evident in fashion, music, body language, symbols, graffiti and schoolwork (such as art and creative writing). Respondents however stated that many pupils were secretive about their involvement and hence the true extent of the problem was difficult to gauge. Internal gangsterism (involving school learners) was reported almost exclusively within disadvantaged schools. External gangsterism (when gangsters entered the school grounds to intimidate and harass students or when gangs claimed the school as territory) was reported across all school categories. While gang activity was more prevalent amongst boys and young men, girls were implicated as girlfriends of gangsters, used to smuggle drugs and weapons.

Gender differences in aggression and high-risk behaviour are well documented and "boys are more likely to engage in physically aggressive acts and are more frequently diagnosed with conduct or oppositional disorders. National surveys in the United States of America of high-risk behaviour in schools reveal that boys disproportionately engage in physical fights, carry weapons to school, and experience violent victimisation" Cornell and Loper (1998:318).

However, by all accounts, according to Weiler (1999) girls appear to be involved in substantially more violent crime than they were a decade ago. Based on an analysis of FBI statistics in the United States of America, arrests of girls for murder were up 64 percent; robbery arrests, 114 percent; aggravated assault, 137 percent; and other assaults, 126 percent. There are a number of reasons why these figures need to be interpreted cautiously. First, there has been a parallel increase in boys' arrest rate for violent offenses since 1985. Chesney-Lind and Brown (as cited in Weiler, 1999) assert, "this pattern, then, reflects overall changes in youth behavior, rather than dramatic changes and shifts in the character of girls' behavior" In addition, boys are far more likely than girls to be arrested for violent crimes (homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault) and serious property offenses (burglary, arson). Girls account for a very small percentage of violent crime, and violent crime by girls is a small percentage of all girls' delinquency, and it has remained essentially unchanged since the mid-1980s. Only 2.1 percent of girls' arrests in 1985 were for serious crimes of violence; the figure climbed only slightly, to 3.4 percent, by 1994. Thus, large increases in girls' violent crime rate translate into only small increases in the number of crimes committed.

According to Cornell and Loper (1998:318) from their study titled Assessment of violence and other high-risk behaviour with a school survey (on which the present study is based) "student surveys have emerged as a major source of information about school violence. For example, the Centre for Disease Control reported that the 1993 Youth Risk Behaviour Survey was conducted in schools across at least 43 states and cities in the United States of America. According to the aggregated results, 11.8% of students nationwide reported carrying a weapon and 16.2% of students reported participating in a physical fight at school in the past 30 days. Other national school surveys indicated that about half of high school students nationwide report weapons in their schools and about 40% report gangs in their schools".

Unfortunately, there is little statistical data to describe current levels of violence within South African schools, but the survey study conducted by Eliasov and Frank (2000) yielded important findings in that “all schools reported incidents of playground or classroom conflict that were seen as normal. Violence was perceived as a deliberate form of verbal, psychological, physical or sexual abuse beyond what is acceptable and ‘normal’. Most schools (95%) reported problems with fighting/physical violence, bullying (80%) and intimidation (75%). Insolence towards teachers (either verbal or physical) was reported in 60% of the schools, while eight schools identified a serious problem with aggressive cliques of children. All schools reported the presence of weapons, including knives, sharp instruments and stick/batons, within the school grounds. Firearms were reported in eleven schools of which nine were in disadvantaged areas. The problem of violence was far worse in secondary schools than in primary schools” (Eliasov and Frank, 2000:14)

A useful source of descriptive data that outline the nature and profile of school violence in South Africa is a study by the Department of Education, the Department of Safety and Security and the National Youth Commission (1999). It was found that violence or high-risk behaviour in South African schools takes four forms.

The document identified these as follows:

**a. Physical assault between learners**

Physical assault in the school context appears to be prevalent indiscriminately, but often manifests in older boys assaulting younger boys. In secondary school, ‘beating’ and ‘fights’ become more severe with greater access to knives and firearms — often with fatal consequences (Department of Education et al, 1999).

#### **b. Sexual assault by boy learners on girl learners**

There appears to be a very high incidence of sexual assault of girls within the school context - at school and in transit to school (Clacherty, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Independent Project Trust as cited in Department of Education et al, 1999). Childline estimates that one girl in three and one boy in five under the age of sixteen has been sexually abused in school (*The Teacher* as cited in Eliasov & Frank, 2000).

#### **c. Assault by teachers on learners**

While corporal punishment was legislated as unlawful in 1996, the levels of physical assault and sexual assault by teachers on learners remain high across the majority of South African schools (Department of Education et al, 1999).

#### **d. Assault (physical and sexual) by young people outside of school**

Practitioners perceive that a large proportion of serious crime has its roots outside of school, and then ‘spills over’ onto school grounds. Perpetrators include individual children (so called ‘bad elements’), or more organised ‘gang’ structures (Griggs as cited in Department of Education et al, 1999). Gangs certainly do not operate in every school, but can and do spread unexpectedly from school to school as students transfer from gang-impacted schools to gang-free schools, causing an unintentional spill over of gang activity in the new school. Even in gang-free schools and communities, the misdeeds of gangs can produce panic or stimulate copycat behaviour..

### **2.5. CONCLUSION**

Besides the obvious physical harm caused by gang violence in and outside the school, gangs have a tremendous impact on the social relations, behaviour, and safety of children and adolescents.

However, Garnezy noted, “Impact and effects of exposure to violence (and detention) are mediated

by the children's disposition and their social support (including the ideological framework in which they operate). These factors may contribute to the resilience of children in stressful and conflict-ridden situations and highlight their adaptive potential in situations of war and civil strife" or exacerbate the consequences of violence exposure (as cited in Pastor, 1988:7).

Thus, theoretical discourses have generated two threads of arguments: one stressing the resilience of children and other emphasising the detrimental effects of violence. The researchers is of the opinion that each adolescent's reaction to violence is dependent upon a complex set of variables and it is within this particular context that the present study sought to explore the level of learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside school.



# **CHAPTER 3**

## **RESEARCH DESIGN and METHODOLOGY**

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the research design and procedure such as sampling, method of data collection, the measuring instrument, contact with the authors of the Virginia University School Project and the data analysis strategy will be discussed. The researcher will also provide an explanation of each of the survey categories, and how they are hypothesized to relate to the assessment of learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviours in and outside the school. Lastly, the methodological problems and study limitations will be discussed.

#### 3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

A survey entitled "School Safety Survey" devised by Drs. Cornell and Loper of the Virginia University School Project, appropriately modified, was used to assess the extent of learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of the selected school. (Cornell and Loper, 1998)

The researcher discovered a number of reports published on the internet by the Virginia University School Project. Most of the reports focused on high-risk behaviour and youth gang behaviour in schools and communities in Virginia. According to the reports, each year the Virginia Department of Education and University School Projects conduct a survey study and issue a report summarising the incidence of violence, drug possession, weapon violations, and other high-risk behaviour in public schools.

The researcher established contact with the Dr. Cornell at the Virginia Youth Violence Project, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia, and asked for advice on how best to proceed with a study on learners exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school in South Africa. Dr. Cornell responded by offering to courier past research documents and questionnaires used to study various aspects of gang violence and high-risk behaviour in Virginia schools.

Four questionnaires and several reports were sent by the Virginia Youth Violence Project, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia, some relevant and others not. Finally the researcher decided to use the “School Safety Survey.” As far as content is concerned, it explored issues relevant to the particular area of study the researcher wanted to explore, but the research objectives were somewhat different. Hence, the researcher contacted Dr. Cornell and asked for permission to use and adapt the original questionnaire to meet the objectives of the study and fit the South African context.

### **3.2.1. Adapting the School Safety Survey**

When permission has been granted, the researcher appropriately modified and forwarded a copy of the draft questionnaire for review to Drs. Cornell and Dewey of the Virginia Youth Violence Project, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia. In particular they were asked to criticise the survey, to set limits on the survey content, structure and length and/or to recommend additional items.

Drs. Cornell and Dewey advised the researcher to include a few other variables not considered. This included giving learners an option to report violence that is not gang-related. For example,

responses to all close-ended questions on learners' exposure to violence include a range from: NO - YES, a gang member - YES, but not a gang member. Lastly, the researcher was advised by Drs Cornell and Dewey to ensure that the wordings of questions use either "you" or "I" consistently (see Appendix 4.1).

Thus the major changes included additional open-ended questions and to expand the list of possible answers to closed-ended questions to ensure that they provide better data and "represent the full range of possible answers" (Bourque and Clark, 1994:14).

#### **a. The original survey**

The original survey was a 32- item self-report questionnaire that consisted of four sections, administered to Grade 7, 9 and 11 learners in the Virginia suburban school district.

The first section consisted of 10 questions that obtained anonymous information such as age, grade, gender and racial/ethnic background. The second section asked learners to give their honest opinion about 8 statements on attitudes to, or participation in high-risk behaviour. The third section asked learners "what happens to you at school and outside of school?" The learner is presented with 14 scenarios that referred to experiences related to learners either being a direct victim or survivor of violence or an indirect victim or witness of violence in school.

The fourth section asked learners "Did any of these things happen to you outside of school in the past month (30 days)?" In this section learners were presented with six scenarios or parallel items, substituting the phrase "outside of school", that referred to experiences related to learners being a direct victim or survivor of violence and seven scenarios that referred to learners' participation in high-risk behaviour (see Appendix 2).

## **b. The modified School Safety Survey**

The modified School Safety Survey is a 62-item self-report inventory that consists of six sections to be administered to all Grade learners (Grade 8 – 12). The additional items included, which will be discussed below, were either suggested by the authors of the original survey or were completed with the approval of the authors of the original survey (see Appendix 4.1.).

The six sections are as follows:

### **i. Demographic Details**

The racial/ ethnic background and grade categories were expanded for in this study the target population is Grade 8 to 12 learners. The following items were also included in this section: age, gender, religious orientation, residential area, home language, and parents' occupation.

### **ii. General knowledge about gangs**

In the original survey learners were not asked to define gangs and/or to describe types of gang activities witnessed. One thing Dr Dewey, one of the authors of the original survey, has found is that some learners will deny they belong to a gang, but then admit they belong to a crew, clique, posse, or some other kind of group that is essentially a gang too, but called something different. He does not know what names kids may use for gangs in South Africa, but suggested that the researcher consider the possibility of including a definition of a gang in the survey.

Hence, this section consists of three open-ended questions created to ascertain learners' general knowledge and understanding of gangs. The questions are as follows:

- “What is a gang?”
- “What do gang members do?”
- “Why do young people join gangs?”

iii. What happens to you at school?

As in the original study, learners were asked: “Did any of these things happen to you at school?” to assess the degree of exposure to gang violence and other high-risk behaviours in school. This question was followed by 6 items that referred to experiences related to gang violence at school, that is, either where the learner is a direct victim or survivor of violence or has witnessed or heard of the event. However, the two yes/no items in the original survey were extended to include a third option to report violence that is not gang-related i.e. NO - YES, a gang member - YES, but **not** a gang member.

In addition, four additional questions were included in this section asking learners if they have you seen any gangs in school; If yes, what kind of gang activities have they seen in school and the frequency of witnessing gang activities in school in the past 30 days. More importantly, learners were asked to explain how the gang activities in school make them feel.

iv. What happens to you outside of school?

In this section similar questions and parallel items were presented, substituting the phrase “outside of school”.

v. Youth risk behaviour

Learners were asked to describe their grades in school and also had to indicate at what age(s) they starting engaging in certain behaviours, followed by a series of items that included a series of specific items concerning weapon carrying, fighting and substance use (Cornell and Loper, 1998). One yes/no item examined aggressive attitudes: “It feels good when I hit someone”. The item “I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities)” was used to assess gang membership.

The survey included two validity items to detect careless or intentionally invalid responding: "I am reading this survey carefully" and "I am telling the truth on this survey." (Cornell and Loper, 1998).

vi. Crime prevention

Lastly, six questions on crime prevention were included to assess learners' willingness to combat crime in and outside school. It was also included to establish whether the school has attempted to introduce crime prevention or conflict resolution programs in the school.

### **3.2.2. Reliability and Validity of survey**

The original survey has been tested and noted for reliability and validity but not within the South African context. The original school survey was reviewed by the district staff of Virginia in the United States of America and the survey procedure was reviewed and approved by the district's human subjects review board. Representatives of the school board consulted with the authors concerning survey content, but exercised final authority over all aspects of survey development, including item wording, survey length, and administration procedures. Notably, limitations in survey length precluded the development of specific scales for hypothetical constructs (Cornell and Loper, 1998).

The modified survey was submitted to Drs. Cornell and Dewey of the Virginia Youth Violence Project, Curry School of Education, University of Virginia and to the Headmaster and educators of the selected secondary school. They were asked to review the survey and to set limits on the content, structure and length and/or to recommend additional items. The teaching staff or headmaster of the selected school has suggested no changes. Thus the modified school safety survey has been tested and noted for reliability by both the authors of the original School Safety Survey and the Headmaster and educators of the selected secondary school in the Western Cape.

### 3.3. RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The researcher approached the Headmaster of the selected secondary school and asked for permission to conduct a study on learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. A copy of the research proposal and the modified School safety Survey was submitted to the Headmaster of the selected secondary school and subsequent meetings followed to discuss the study, its aims, and the logistics of in-class administration of the survey. Due to the sensitive nature of the survey topic, the headmaster decided to approach the teaching staff, to brief them about the research, and obtain their permission for the learners' research participation (See Appendix 4.2).

When permission to conduct the study in the selected secondary school was obtained, the researcher arranged another meeting with the Headmaster. The purpose of the meeting was to ask for separate alphabetised lists of learners for each class from grade eight to twelve and to discuss the study population and sample and the in-class survey administration procedures.

#### 3.3.1 Study population and sample

##### a. Study Population

The population for this study were male and female learners ranging in age from 12 to 20 years, which represents early, middle and late adolescence, attending a secondary school in the Western Cape. The entire study population numbers **659 learners**. A small proportion, 115 learners (17.5%) were black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu speaking learners) and 544 were 'coloured' learners. Three hundred and ninety-five learners (60%) were female and 264 learners (40%) were male.



## **b. Sampling Procedure**

In this study disproportionate stratified random sampling was utilised to select the initial sample population of 125 learners because the race, grade and gender strata or subgroups varied with regard to the proportion of their members appearing in the study population.

Stratified sampling involves dividing the population into relatively small categories or strata and applying random sampling to each category. In this study the population was the learners and the sample frame was the school enrolment list. Three categories or strata were identified, namely male learners from Grade 8 to 12, female learners from Grade 8 to 12 and black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa or Zulu speaking learners) from each Grade in the school.

Stratification may be **proportional**, when the same number of samples is taken from each stratum, or **disproportional** (Reynold, 1996; Chadwick et al as cited in De Vos, 1998). The latter is best used when there are significant differences between the sizes and/or homogeneity of the subpopulations in the strata. In this study, disproportional stratified sampling was used because there are significant differences in the number of black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa or Zulu speaking learners), i.e. a small proportion (17.5%) of the population, and other members appearing in the study population. Hence, this kind of sampling was used to ensure that the black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu speaking learners) for each Grade are adequately represented in the final sample. It is not the purpose of the study to determine if there are any significant racial differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour.

The sampling procedure used to select the black learners (i.e. Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu speaking learners) from the entire population was as follows:

1. Received separate alphabetised lists of learners for each class from grade eight to twelve.
2. Extracted all the black learners in Grade 8,9,10,11,and 12 from the entire population.
3. Created one alphabetised list of black female and male learners in Grade 8, 9, 10, 11,and 12
4. Numbered the students in the list
5. Utilised the random sample table to select a sample of 15 learners (13% sample) from the list

The sampling procedure used to select learners (other than black learners) was as follows:

1. Created separate alphabetised lists of female learners in each grade.
2. Created separate alphabetised lists of male learners in each grade.
3. Numbered the learners in separate alphabetised lists of female learners in each grade
4. Numbered the learners in separate alphabetised lists of male learners in each grade
5. Utilized the random sample table to select a sample of 11 female learners in each grade
6. Utilized the random sample table to select a sample of 11 male learners in each grade

### **c. Sample size**

“The key concept in sampling is representativeness” and in order to ensure the usefulness of quantitative research, it is also important that the sample size is adequate (Mouton, 1996). Only then can the findings be related with reasonable precision to the population from which the sample was chosen. Saeberg (1988) and Grinnell and Williams (as cited in De Vos, 1998), state that in most cases a 10% sample should be adequate for controlling sampling errors.

In this study, the initial sample chosen totaled **125** learners (19% sample of the population). However the number of pupils attending school on the day amounted to 112 learners (17% sample of the population). Of the 112 questionnaires returned, 97 questionnaires were completed. Therefore the final sample was 97 learners (14.7% sample of the population).

The final sample was made up of the following groupings:

Grade 8 males	n = 8
Grade 8 females	n = 9
Grade 8 black learners	n = 4
Grade 9 males	n = 8
Grade 9 females	n = 9
Grade 9 black learners	n = 6
Grade 10 males	n = 7
Grade 10 females	n = 7
Grade 10 black learner	n = 1
Grade 11 males	n = 10
Grade 11 females	n = 9
Grade 11 black learner	n = 1
Grade 12 males	n = 8
Grade 12 females	n = 9
Grade 12 black learner	n = 1
<b>Total subject</b>	<b>n = 97</b>

### 3.3.2. Administration of survey

The learners in the sample, who had been randomly selected, were verbally advised by the headmaster and the respective class teachers of their selection to participate in the research, the time and venue for the research, and what they should bring with them on the day the study will be conducted.

The modified School Safety Survey, was administered to all selected students present on Friday 17 May 2002 at a predetermined time during the school day. Unfortunately the school does not have a hall or a large enclosed space for the learners to receive instructions and complete the questionnaire simultaneously. Therefore learners completed the questionnaires in two two-hour sessions i.e. Grade 8 and 9 from 9am – 11am and Grade 10, 11 and 12 between 11am – 1pm. The researcher read and explained the instructions included on the questionnaire that answers would be confidential and anonymous, and that no consultation with one another should take place. However, if learners did not understand a question they must raise their hands and the researcher will answer their questions. Learners responded to the survey anonymously by filling in answers on an answer sheet. The teachers were absent during this time.

As a way of ensuring an acceptable response rate, the questionnaires were immediately collected. The greatest advantage of this method, if properly carried out, is that this survey will reflect attitudes or perceptions of students on an age and gender basis. In addition, much time and cost are saved in that a group of respondents is handled simultaneously and consequently exposed simultaneously to the same stimulus.

There can however be disadvantages to this method. Some persons may experience difficulties in understanding some of the questions and instructions, but are embarrassed to ask in the group and rather answer the questions arbitrarily. Such a response would affect the validity of the data.

### 3.4. DATA ANALYSIS STRATEGY

The purpose of analysis is to reduce data to an intelligible and interpretable form so that the relations of research problems can be studied, tested and conclusions drawn.

“One of the first steps in data processing is to determine the response rate for the study and to decide if the sample obtained reflects the population from which it was taken” (Bourque and Clark, 1994:58). Subsequent steps included screening the data for incomplete or missing data and describing the set of data. In this study, 15 questionnaires were excluded from the sample for failure to meet any one of the four screening criteria as follows: missing or inappropriate information on critical items i.e. data missing for variable used in the analysis (such as grade and age); failure to mark “yes” to either validity item for reading the survey carefully or telling the truth, or endorsement of all 6 key high-risk items for behaviour at school or outside school (Cornell & Loper, 1998). Then the survey results and number of observations obtained in each category assessed by the Safe School Survey are determined.

In this study descriptive statistics are used to analyse the demographic details of the final sample population. The chi-square test was used to determine if there are significant differences in learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviours in and outside of school. The two factors that were considered to potentially impact on the scores obtained for these categories are Grade and Gender. Comparisons were made between the observed frequencies of learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. Lastly, anecdotal evidence of learners’ feelings about the gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school will be provided.

### 3.4.1. The problem of small expected frequencies

Chi-square is a statistical test often used for analysing categorical data that lets you know the degree of confidence you can have in accepting or rejecting a hypothesis. The Chi-square test is based in part on the assumption that if an experiment were repeated an infinite number of times with the same number of subjects, the obtained frequency in any given cell would be normally distributed around the expected frequency. But if the expected frequency is small (e.g. 1.0), there is no way that the observed frequencies could be normally distributed around it. In cases where the expected frequency is too small, chi-square may not be a valid statistical test. (Howell, 1995:368).

The conservative position is that all expected frequencies should be at least five (5). “There are people who argue that the test is conservative and produces few Type I errors, even with much smaller expected frequencies, but even they are forced to admit that when the total sample size is very small - as is frequently the case when the expected frequencies are small – the test has remarkably little power to detect false null hypotheses” (Howell, 1995: 368) One of the major problems with making comparisons among groups is that unrestricted use of these comparisons can lead to an excessively high probability of a **Type I error** (the error of rejecting the null hypotheses when it is true).

In this study, the researcher discovered that because of the very small sample size the numbers of expected and observed frequencies are small when attempting to determine if there are significant individual grade differences in learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviours in and outside of school. Thus the probability of making more than one type 1 error is high. (Garson, 2003)

### 3.4.2. Controlling for type I errors- $\alpha$

The risk of erroneously rejecting the null hypotheses, when it is in fact true, would be an inferential mistake and poses a major problem.

“This situation can be avoided by combining logically adjacent groups – if the categories have an underlying order. If categories are pooled to avoid small expected frequencies, the pooling should be decided before examining the data and should be on the logical basis of joining naturally related categories. Even then care should be taken if any value of the expected frequency is less than 5. For a higher degree of freedom, not more than 20% of the frequencies should be less than 5 and none should be less than 1” (Selkirk 1983:14,18).

In an attempt to control the likelihood of Type I errors, all learners (including black learners) were sorted according to Grade. Then adjacent categories Grades 8 and 9 learners (including black learners) and adjacent categories Grade 10, 11 & 12 (including black learners) were pooled to ensure that the observed and expected frequency for each new category is larger. Thus ensuring that the chi-square is more likely to find significance.

The reason why Grade 8 and 9 learners (including black learners) were pooled is because 79% of 43 learners in this category are between 12 and 15 years (early – middle adolescence). In the Grade 10, 11 and 12 (including black learners) category 93% of the 54 learners are between 16 and 20 years (middle to late adolescence). Moreover the researcher realized that it is best to apply findings to the school population and not to each stratum. Especially since the final sample of each strata is representative of the race, gender and grade divide in the school population.

Thirteen (13) of the initial 15 black learners selected formed part of the sample population, which is an 11.3% sample and may be considered an adequate sample size and representative of the race divide in the population. Fifty-three (53) learners (a 13.4% sample) were female and 44 learners (a 16.7% sample) were male. This exceeds the 10% minimum sample size to control sampling errors. Thus this sample may be considered an adequate sample size and representative of the gender divide in the population. As far as the grade representivity is concerned an average of 17 learners were selected from each grade, which also exceed the minimum 10% sample for each grade and may be considered representative of the grade divide in the population. Therefore, in general the final sample may be considered representative because each category in the population is adequately represented and findings may be related with reasonable precision to the study population.

Thus, in this study the researcher investigated whether there are significant differences between Grades 8 and 9 learners (including black learners) and Grades 10, 11 and 12 learners' (including black learners) exposure to gang and non-gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside the school. However detailed tables with observed frequencies for each Grade (including black learners) and category assessed by the school safety survey respectively was included in the appendices (See Appendix 6).

### **3.5. STUDY LIMITATIONS**

#### **a. Use of a Self-Report Questionnaire**

In employing an anonymous self-report format in this study it was hoped that learners would feel less afraid to disclose traumatic or confidential information and delinquent or high-risk behaviour. However, "sceptics may be concerned that some learners will make exaggerated claims of high-risk behaviour, while other students will deny their high-risk behaviour. Nevertheless, studies of self-



reported delinquency generally confirm the value of self-reports as an index of illegal behaviour. It is perhaps best viewed as one component of comprehensive school assessment. Other potentially useful components might include review of school discipline reports, consultation with teachers, counsellors, and psychologists at school clinics and small group meetings with students and parents” (Cornel and Loper, 1998:328).

#### **b. Sampling Strategy and Research Procedure**

In retrospect, several problems surfaced in the process of administration. Firstly, it would have been important to read through the questionnaire with the groups so that any uncertainties or questions could have been raised and addressed, thus increasing the response rate to all items.

Secondly, regarding the sites of administration of the questionnaire, on the whole, classrooms were overcrowded. Learners were compelled to share a desk, thus decreasing the level of privacy and confidentiality of the material.

Thirdly, with the Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners, there was a confusion and the first 15 minutes were taken up by the researcher’s attempts to re-establish order. Thus less time was available for the completion of the questionnaire.

#### **c. Survey Content and Structure**

The numbers of scenarios used are too limited in scope to show a true reflection of learners’ level of exposure, participation and attitudes to gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in and outside the school. In depth interviews might have been more useful in determining how learners’ moral judgment on different categories of violence were made.

#### **d. Ethical Considerations**

The ethical feasibility of this research has been discussed in Chapter 1. The headmaster and respective teachers on behalf of the learners, who constitute legal minors, offered approval, participation and consent to conduct the study in the selected school. Perhaps informed consent should have been sought from the participants themselves. Unfortunately, like most other school-related activities, the learners had little power to influence the decision regarding their participation. However, the researcher did volunteer to help those learners who have been negatively affected by participating in this study. In particular, upon completion of the questionnaire learners approached the researcher and asked questions about the purpose of the study and how the information generated will be processed or interpreted and used to make a difference in their learning experience in the selected secondary school.

In addition, one female learner disclosed that a gang member raped her. Unfortunately the perpetrator was not prosecuted because she was unable to identify him, and hence he is still running free. The researcher asked if she talked to anybody about what happened to her, if not would she like to talk to somebody about her experience. Sadly, the learner did not want to discuss this experience. Nevertheless the researcher provided her with the contact details of a Rape Counseling Centre and advised, that if and when she would like to talk to somebody, she should ask her teacher or parent to accompany her to seek counseling from Rape Crisis.

#### **3.6. CONCLUSION**

This chapter has presented a rationale for the choices of instruments as well as the methodological implications and limitations of this study. The chapter that follows presents and analyses the findings. Based on the findings of this enquiry, suggested ways to address the challenges in this context will be made. Interventions should be based solely on the results of the research assessment.

## CHAPTER 4

# **PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

## CHAPTER 4

### PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

#### 4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the survey results and number of observations obtained in each category assessed by the Safe School Survey will be presented and discussed in the light of the previous epidemiological research conducted in the area and the research objectives presented in Chapter 1. The chapter will close with a conclusion that highlights the major findings and interprets their significance for this sample. These results and inference drawn from the data may have implications for future use of school surveys and identification of students likely to engage in high-risk behaviour.

The categories are:

- a. Demographic detail of the sample population
- b. Learners' general knowledge of gangs
- c. Learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school
- d. Learners' feelings about gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school.
- e. Learners' participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school

The two factors that were considered to potentially impact on the scores obtained for these categories are:

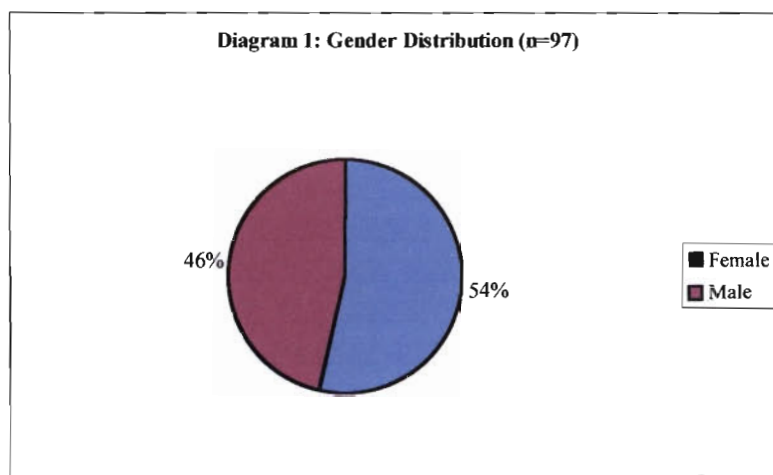
- Grade
- Gender

#### 4.2. SAMPLE SIZE AND SELECTION

The intended sample population was **125 learners**, but a total of **112 learners** attended school and participated in the study on the day. However, even though the survey was administered to 112 learners the researcher only retained **97** surveys that had complete data on all study variables, reflecting a response rate of 86.6%.

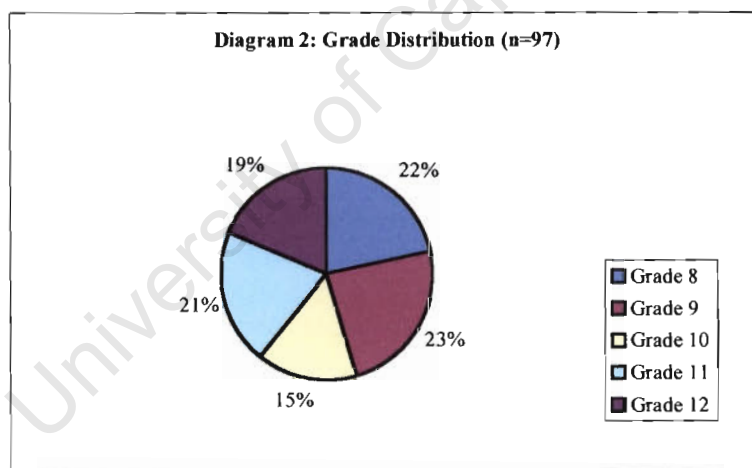
### 4.3. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS OF SAMPLE POPULATION

#### 4.3.1. GENDER DISTRIBUTION



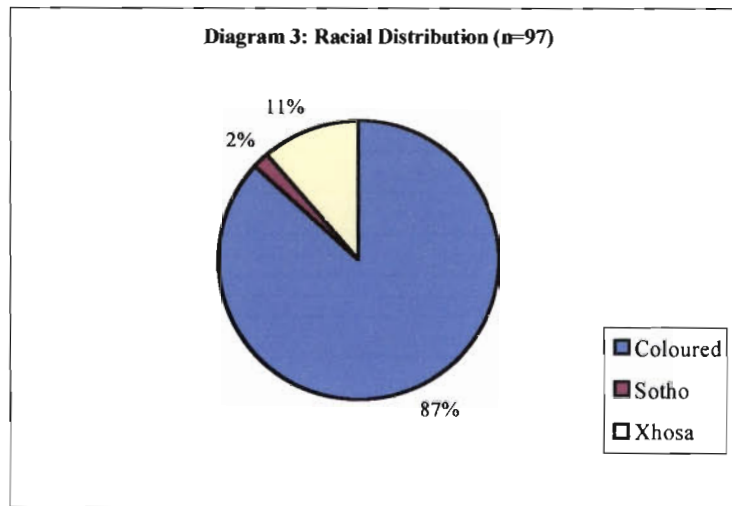
Fifty-three learners (54%) were female and forty-four learners (46%) were male.

#### 4.3.2. GRADE DISTRIBUTION



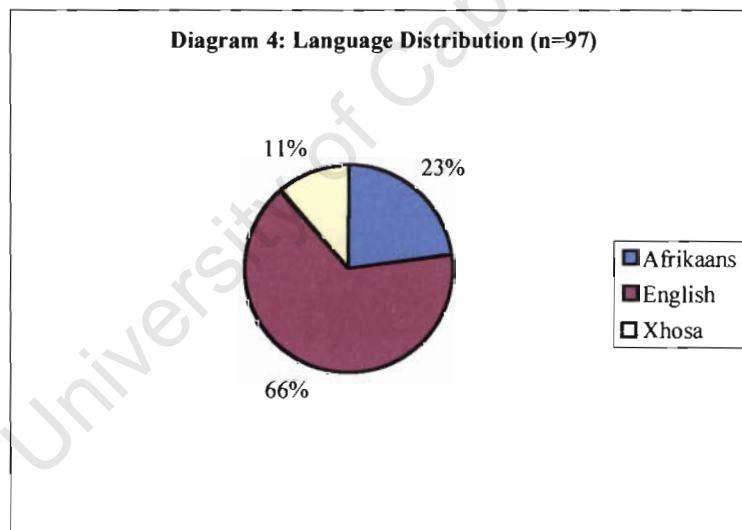
Twenty-one learners were in Grade 8 (22%), 23 learners in Grade 9 (23%), 15 learners in Grade 10 (15%), 20 learners in Grade 11 (21%) and 18 learners in Grade 12 (19%).

#### 4.3.3. RACIAL DISTRIBUTION



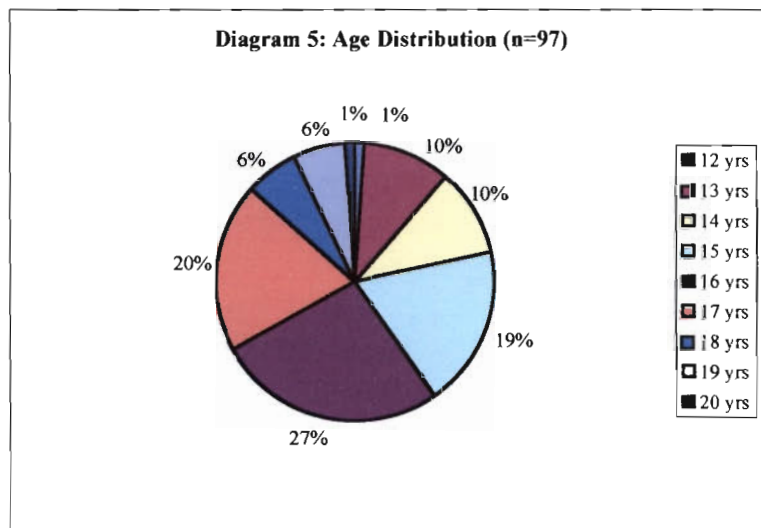
Eighty-four learners (87%) were coloured, 11 learners (11%) were Xhosa and 2 learners (2%) were Sotho.

#### 4.3.4. LANGUAGE DISTRIBUTION



Sixty-four learners' (66%) home language was English, 22 learners (23%) was Afrikaans and 11 learners (11%) were Xhosa. The two Sotho learners indicated English as their first language.

#### 4.3.5. AGE DISTRIBUTION



The sample population for this study range in ages from 12 to 20 years. The majority of learners in the sample population are between 15 and 17 years (66%). There is only one 12 year old and one 20 year old learner.

#### 4.4 LEARNERS' GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF GANGS

For the purpose of this study it was important to include a question in the survey asking learners to define gangs to ascertain whether learners had a good understanding of what a gang is, what gang members do and why young people join gangs. In addition to that, learners were asked if they saw any gangs in and outside of school.

##### 4.4.1. What is a gang?

A gang can be described as a loosely or well-organised group of both juveniles and young adults who engage in a range of antisocial, violent and criminal-gain behaviour (Spergel and Alexander, 1991). In this study learners described a gang as a group of unemployed males and females who engage in both criminal and non-criminal activities under the leadership of a gang leader.

### **Vignettes**

“A gang is people who can’t find a job and have no money and in order to get money they steal, kill, rape and rob” [male (13yrs), grade 8]

“Gangs is a group of people that deals with drugs and they want to rule the area they are in.”  
[Female (16yrs), Grade 9]

Some learners also displayed animosity and resentment towards gangs and gang members in the ways that they define gangs in terms of characteristic traits and gang activities.

### **Vignettes**

“A gang is a group of disillusioned people searching for acceptance” [Male (19yrs), Grade 12]

“A gang is a group of non-workers, egomaniacs who think that they are so cool, but aren’t.”  
[Female (18yrs), Grade 12]

#### **4.4.2. What do gang members do?**

In this study learners were also asked to explain what, according to their own understanding, do gangs or gang members do. In this study the most common gang-related activities reported by learners are murder, shootings, robbery, rape, drug use and trade as well as gang rivalry.

### **Vignettes**

“They steal, murder, rape and take drugs, kill people and innocent boys” [Female (15yrs), Grade 9]

“They fight with other rival gangs, sell drugs to children and adults, steal and rob other people”  
[Male (17yrs), Grade 11]

Spergel and Alexander (1991), however, identified the principal activities of gangs or gang members include drug and weapon trafficking, recruiting new members and intimidating students or extorting money from them.



4.4.3. Why do young people join gangs?

According to the Washington State University ([www.handsinhealing.org/VPG5.htm](http://www.handsinhealing.org/VPG5.htm)) young people join gangs in a search for love, structure, and discipline; to experience a sense of belonging and commitment, to satisfy the need for recognition and power; companionship, training, excitement and activities; to have a sense of self-worth and status, a place of acceptance and for physical safety and protection. Lastly young people join gangs to nurture a sense of family tradition. This is a view with which most learners in this study concur. Most reported that young people who join gangs come from broken or dysfunctional families and join gangs either because of peer pressure or because they need to belong.

**Vignettes**

- “They don’t know what to do with their lives” [Male (15yrs), Grade 8]
- “Due to family problems, abuse, neglect by family and friends” [Male (15yrs), Grade 9]
- ”Security, to have money, to be able to carry a weapon and to get respect. To be accepted by the community to look and feel good.” [Male (18yrs), Grade 12]

Other learners, however, showed no interest, a lack of compassion and disrespect for young people who joined gangs.

**Vignette**

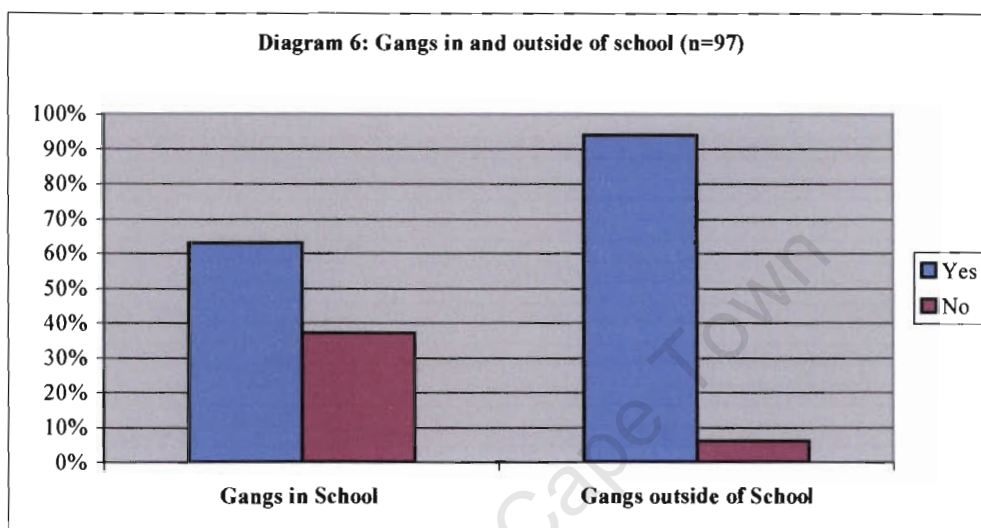
- “I am not a gangster and why must I worry with the gangsters?”[Male (16yrs), Grade 10]

Generally, learners had good knowledge and understanding of gangs and why young people join gangs. However, in their definitions of gangs and descriptions of gang activities learners frequently displayed agitation or attempted to minimise or denied any knowledge of gangs in and outside of school. According to Gabarion et al (as cited in van der Merwe, 2001), children frequently become forgetful, agitated and distracted as a defence against traumatic memories and/or spontaneous reminders of traumatic experiences. These avoidance strategies have been associated with concentration difficulties, poor school performance and/or learning impairment.

It is not the purpose of this study to focus on the cognitive stress responses. However, they need to be recognized as an important component of trauma research.

#### 4.4.4. Gangs in and outside of school

In this study learners were asked if they have seen any gangs in and outside of school. The number of learners who reported that they have seen gangs in and/or outside of school is reported in Diagram 6.



The observed frequency of learners reporting that they have seen gangs in and outside of school is very high. Sixty-one learners (63%) reported that they have seen gangs in school and ninety-one learners (94%) reported that they have seen gangs outside of school.

This high report rate for gangs outside of school can be accounted for by the fact that all learners stay in low-economic and highly violent neighbourhoods. Hence the observed frequency of learners reporting gangs outside of school does not necessarily only account for gangs outside of school in the neighbourhood where the school is located. Learners might have seen gangs or gang members in their respective communities, en route to school from their home as well as outside the gates of the school.

Moreover, the fact that such a high observed frequency for gangs outside of school is reported does not necessarily imply that these learners have witnessed gang violence or have been directly victimised by gang member(s) in or outside the school – but it can still affect them. Nor does it imply that gangs or gang members seen in and outside of school are registered learners.

#### 4.5 LEARNERS’ EXPOSURE TO GANG AND NON-GANG VIOLENCE

In this study, to assess the degree of learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence learners were first asked to identify what types/kinds of gang activity they have witnessed in and outside the school. Both violent (such as intimidation, physical fighting, and possession of weapons) and non-violent activities (such as substance abuse) were included in the categories.

The kind of gang activities witnessed by learners in and outside of school is reported in Table 1.

**Table 1: Gang activities witnessed by learners in and outside the school (n=97)**

Survey Items	In School		Outside of School	
	%	Observed Frequency	%	Observed Frequency
Shooting	9.23%	9	50.52%	49
Stabbing	21.65%	21	53.61%	52
Mugging	13.40%	13	38.14%	37
Sexual Assault	17.53%	17	16.49%	16
Physical Threats	27.84%	27	31.96%	31
Drug Use	31.96%	31	55.67%	54
Drug Trade	20.62%	20	39.18%	38
Arrests	9.23%	9	31.96%	31
Chased by Gangs	19.59%	19	43.30%	42
Dead Bodies	2.06%	2	9.23%	9
Murders	1.03%	1	14.43%	14
Suicides	0.00%	0	1.03%	1
Recruitment	0.00%	0	2.06%	2
Stealing	0.00%	0	2.06%	2
Standing around	0.00%	0	2.06%	2
Vandalism	0.00%	0	1.03%	1
Taxing taxi drivers for protection	0.00%	0	1.03%	1
Gang Fights	4.12%	4	0.00%	0
Rape	0.00%	0	1.03%	1
Robbery	1.03%	1	0.00%	0
Gambling	1.03%	1	0.00%	0

The observed frequency for learners who witnessed gang activities outside of school is higher than learners who witnessed gang activities in school. Nine learners (9.23%) reported that they witnessed shootings in school whereas forty-nine learners (50.52%) reported shooting outside of school. Twenty-one learners (21.65%) reported stabbings in school and 52 learners (53.61%) reported stabbing outside of school. Nineteen learners (19.59%) reported that gangs chased them in school and 42 learners (43.30%) reported that gangs outside of school chased them.

The gang activity with the highest report rate for both in and outside of school is drug use.

Thirty-one learners (31.96%) of the learners reported “drug use” in school and 54 learners (55.67%) reported drug use outside of school. Lastly one female learner (1.03%) disclosed that a gang member raped her outside of school.

These findings are not as high as the findings reported by Wynchank (2000) in her study that investigated the prevalence and impact of adolescents’ exposure to violence in Mannenberg; a poor coloured dormitory suburb on the periphery of Cape Town. Seventy percent (70%) of the study sample in Wynchank’s study had witnessed gangsters shooting and fighting, 20.04% had been chased by gangsters, 5.15% had been forced to both participate in gang activities and join a gang. Seventy-five point three percent (75.3%) of subjects also reported having experienced or witnessed people shooting one another.

In addition to the type of gang activities witnessed by learners in and outside of school (as discussed above), learners were also presented with 6 or 7 items that referred to experiences related to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school, that is, either where the learner is a direct victim or survivor of violence or has witnessed or heard of the event. Moreover, learners were asked to identify if the perpetrator was a gang member or not a gang member i.e. not indulging in high-risk behaviour themselves.

#### 4.5.1. In school

The observed frequency of learners' responses to the 6 items that referred to experiences related to learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school is reported in Table 2.

**Table 2: Learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school (n = 97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%
Saw someone with a gun at school	No	79	81.44%
	Yes, a gang member	12	12.37%
	Yes, not a gang member	6	6.19%
Saw someone with a knife at school	No	38	31.96%
	Yes, a gang member	28	39.18%
	Yes, not a gang member	31	28.87%
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school	No	38	39.18%
	Yes, a gang member	24	24.74%
	Yes, not a gang member	35	36.08%
Someone verbally Threatened you at school	No	69	71.13%
	Yes, a gang member	15	15.46%
	Yes, not a gang member	13	13.40%
Got in a physical fight with someone at school	No	66	68.04%
	Yes, a gang member	10	10.31%
	Yes, not a gang member	21	21.65%
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon at school	No	95	97.94%
	Yes, a gang member	1	1.03%
	Yes, not a gang member	1	1.03%

In general, most learners were not exposed to gang or non-gang violence in school. Seventy-nine learners (81.44%) reported that they did not see somebody with a gun at school, 69 learners (71.13%) reported that they were not verbally threatened at school, 66 learners (68.04%) reported that they did not get in a physical fight with someone a school and 95 learners (97.94%) reported that they were not threatened with a weapon at school.

However, 31 learners (28.87%) reported that they saw somebody, who is **not** a gang member, with a knife at school and 28 learners (39.18%) reported that they saw somebody, who is a gang member, with a knife at school. Twenty-four learners (24.74%) reported that they saw

somebody being physically hurt by a gang member in school and 35 learners (36.08%) reported that they saw somebody being hit or physically hurt by a non-gang member in school.

a. Grade Differences

The grouped grade differences in learners’ responses to the 6 items that referred to experiences related to learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence in the selected school are reported in Table 3. (see Appendix 6.1 for individual grade differences in exposure to gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in school)

**Table 3: Grouped grade differences in learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school (n =97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Grade 8 & 9		Grade 10; 11 & 12		Grade Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun at school	No	38	48.10%	41	51.90%	2.298661	2	0.31685
	Yes, a gang member	5	41.67%	7	58.33%			
	Yes, not a gang member	1	16.67%	5	83.33%			
Saw someone with a knife at school	No	18	47.37%	20	52.63%	0.1331087	2	0.93561
	Yes, a gang member	12	42.86%	16	57.14%			
	Yes, not a gang member	14	45.16%	17	54.84%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school	No	20	52.63%	18	47.37%	2.213073	2	0.33071
	Yes, a gang member	8	33.33%	16	66.67%			
	Yes, not a gang member	16	45.17%	19	54.29%			
Someone verbally Threatened you at school	No	32	46.38%	37	53.62%	1.530184	2	0.46529
	Yes, a gang member	8	53.33%	7	46.67%			
	Yes, not a gang member	4	30.77%	9	69.23%			
Got in a physical fight with someone at school	No	26	39.39%	40	60.61%	3.353995	2	0.18694
	Yes, a gang member	5	50.00%	5	50.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	13	61.90%	8	38.10%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon at school	No	44	46.32%	51	53.68%	1.695333	2	0.42842
	Yes, a gang member	0	0.00%	1	100.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	0	0.00%	1	100.00%			

There were no statistically significant grade differences in learners’ overall exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school because X<sup>2</sup> test p values > 0.05 for all survey items. However, 5 Grade 10,11 & 12 learners (83.33%) reported that they saw someone, who is **not** a gang

member, with a gun at school. Sixteen Grade 10,11 & 12 learners (57.14%) reported that they saw someone, who is **not** a gang member, with a knife at school and 16 Grade 10,11 & 12 learners (66.67%) reported that they saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school by a gang member.

b. Gender Differences

Gender differences in learners’ responses to the 6 items that referred to experiences related to learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence in the selected school are reported in Table 4.

**Table 4: Gender differences in learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school (n =97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Male		Female		Gender Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun at school	No	33	41.77%	46	58.23%	4.658346	2	0.09738
	Yes, a gang member	9	75.00%	3	25.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	3	50.00%	3	50.00%			
Saw someone with a knife at school	No	13	34.21%	25	65.79%	5.891035	2	0.05258
	Yes, a gang member	18	64.29%	10	35.71%			
	Yes, not a gang member	14	45.16%	17	54.84%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school	No	16	42.11%	22	57.89%	0.4732498	2	0.78929
	Yes, a gang member	12	50.00%	12	50.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	17	48.57%	18	51.43%			
Someone verbally Threatened you at school	No	30	43.48%	39	56.52%	1.352726	2	0.50847
	Yes, a gang member	9	60.00%	6	40.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	6	46.15%	7	53.85%			
Got in a physical fight with someone at school	No	31	46.97%	35	53.03%	3.689819	2	0.15805
	Yes, a gang member	7	70.00%	3	30.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	7	66.67%	14	66.67%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon at school	No	43	45.26%	52	54.74%	2.359766	2	0.30732
	Yes, a gang member	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			

There are no statistically significant differences in male and female learners' overall exposure to gang and non-gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in school at 95% confidence level ( $p = 0.05$ ). However, there are reliable differences in male and female learners responses at 94% confidence level ( $p < 0.06$ ) for learners that "saw someone with a knife at school" and at 90% confidence level ( $p < 0.1$ ) for learners that "saw someone with a gun at school". Twenty-eight learners reported that they saw someone who is a gang member with a knife at school and 18 (64.29%) of the 24 learners were male. Twelve learners reported that they saw someone with a gun at school and 9 (75%) of the 12 learners were male.

According to a cross sectional study by Flisher (as cited in Department of Education et al, 1999) evaluating incidence of violence in Cape Town secondary schools data, in terms of raw quantity, suggests that while both boys and girls experience physical injury from violence in the school setting, the rates of physical injury from violence were higher among boys than girls.

However in this study the overall findings do not support the supposition that in general mostly male learners are exposed to gang violence and high-risk behaviour in school, but there are reliable differences in male and female learners responses to having seen somebody with a knife and/or gun in school.

#### **4.5.2. Outside of school**

The observed frequency of learners' responses to the 7 items that referred to experiences related to learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of the selected school are reported in Table 5.



**Table 5: Learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school (n = 97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%
Saw someone with a gun outside of school	No	52	53.61%
	Yes, a gang member	37	38.14%
	Yes, not a gang member	8	8.25%
Saw someone with a knife outside of school	No	33	34.02%
	Yes, a gang member	42	43.30%
	Yes, not a gang member	22	22.68%
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school	No	35	36.08%
	Yes, a gang member	39	40.21%
	Yes, not a gang member	23	23.71%
Saw someone being threatened outside of school	No	35	36.08%
	Yes, a gang member	39	40.21%
	Yes, not a gang member	23	23.71%
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon outside of school	No	88	90.72%
	Yes, a gang member	8	8.25%
	Yes, not a gang member	1	1.03%
Someone punched, slapped or kicked you on purpose outside of school	No	74	76.29%
	Yes, a gang member	10	10.31%
	Yes, not a gang member	13	13.40%
Someone verbally threatened you outside of school	No	72	74.23%
	Yes, a gang member	15	15.46%
	Yes, not a gang member	10	10.31%

Forty-two learners (43.30%) reported that they saw somebody who is a gang member with a knife outside of school and 22 learners (22.68%) reported that they saw somebody, **not** a gang member with a knife outside of school. Thirty-nine learners (40.21%) reported that they saw somebody being threatened outside of school by somebody who is a gang member and 23 learners (23.71%) reported that they saw somebody being threatened by somebody who is **not** a gang member. Eight learners (8.25%) reported that somebody, who is a gang member, threatened them with a weapon outside of school.

a. Grade differences

The grouped grade differences in learners’ responses to the 7 items that referred to experiences related to learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of the selected school are reported in Table 6. (see Appendix 6.2. for individual grade differences in exposure to gang violence and other high-risk behaviour outside the school.)

**Table 6: Grouped grade differences in learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school (n = 97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Grade 8 & 9		Grade 10; 11 & 12		Grade Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun outside of school	No	24	46.15%	28	53.85%	3.693628	2	0.15774
	Yes, a gang member	14	37.84%	23	62.16%			
	Yes, not a gang member	6	75.00%	2	25.00%			
Saw someone with a knife outside of school	No	13	39.39%	20	60.61%	5.99.1419	2	0.05001
	Yes, a gang member	16	38.10%	26	61.90%			
	Yes, not a gang member	15	68.18%	7	31.82%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school	No	19	54.29%	16	45.71%	1.885693	2	0.38952
	Yes, a gang member	16	41.03%	22	57.89%			
	Yes, not a gang member	9	39.13%	15	62.50%			
Saw someone being threatened outside of school	No	20	57.14%	15	42.86%	4.525763	2	0.10406
	Yes, a gang member	12	30.77%	25	67.57%			
	Yes, not a gang member	12	52.17%	13	52.00%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon outside of school	No	41	46.59%	47	53.41%	1.083366	2	0.58177
	Yes, a gang member	3	37.50%	5	62.50%			
	Yes, not a gang member	0	0.00%	1	100.00%			
Someone punched, slapped or kicked you on purpose outside of school	No	30	40.54%	44	59.46%	3.52083	2	0.17198
	Yes, a gang member	7	70.00%	3	30.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	7	53.85%	6	46.15%			
Someone verbally threatened you outside of school	No	36	50.00%	36	50.00%	2.45273	2	0.29336
	Yes, a gang member	5	33.33%	10	66.67%			
	Yes, not a gang member	3	30.00%	7	70.00%			

There are statistically significant grade differences at almost 95% confidence level ( $p < 0.06$ ) in learners’ responses to “saw someone with a knife outside the school”. Forty-two learners

reported that they saw a gang member with a knife outside the school and 26 learners (61.90%) are Grade 10,11 and 12 learners.

b. Gender differences

Gender differences in learners’ responses to the 7 items that referred to experiences related to learners’ exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of the selected school are reported in Table 7.

**Table 7: Gender Difference in Learners exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school (n = 97)**

Survey Item	Categories	Male		Female		Gender Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun outside of school	No	22	42.31%	30	57.69%	3.419096	2	0.18095
	Yes, a gang member	21	56.76%	16	43.24%			
	Yes, not a gang member	2	25.00%	6	75.00%			
Saw someone with a knife outside of school	No	11	33.33%	22	66.67%	5.440929	2	0.06585
	Yes, a gang member	25	59.52%	17	40.48%			
	Yes, not a gang member	9	40.91%	13	59.09%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school	No	13	37.14%	22	62.86%	2.094285	2	0.35094
	Yes, a gang member	21	53.85%	18	46.15%			
	Yes, not a gang member	11	47.83%	13	52.17%			
Saw someone being threatened outside of school	No	15	42.86%	20	57.14%	2.996195	2	0.22356
	Yes, a gang member	22	56.41%	17	43.59%			
	Yes, not a gang member	8	34.78%	15	65.22%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon outside of school	No	39	44.32%	49	55.68%	2.142366	2	0.34261
	Yes, a gang member	5	62.50%	3	37.50%			
	Yes, not a gang member	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			
Someone punched, slapped or kicked you on purpose outside of school	No	33	44.59%	41	55.41%	0.8410131	2	0.65672
	Yes, a gang member	6	60.00%	4	40.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	6	46.15%	7	53.85%			
Someone verbally threatened you outside of school	No	31	43.06%	41	56.94%	5.780505	2	0.05557
	Yes, a gang member	11	73.33%	4	26.67%			
	Yes, not a gang member	3	30.00%	7	70.00%			

There are no statistical significant gender differences in learners’ general exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school at 95% confidence level (p=0.05). However, there is

relative significant gender difference in learners' responses at 94% confidence level ( $p=0.0556$ ) for "someone verbally threatened you outside of school." Fifteen learners reported that someone who is **not** a gang member verbally threatened them outside of school and 11 (73.33%) of the 15 learners were male. There is also relatively significant gender difference in learners' responses at 93% confidence level ( $p=0.0659$ ) for "saw someone with a knife outside of school." Forty-two learners reported that they saw someone (a gang member) with a knife outside of school and 25 (59.52%) of the 42 learners were male.

However in this study the overall findings do not support the supposition that in general mostly male learners are exposed to gang violence and high-risk behaviour, but there are reliable differences in male and female learners responses to having seen somebody with a knife and having been verbally threatened outside of school.

#### **4.5.3. A comparison of learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside school**

In Table 8 a comparison of learners' responses to the 7 items that referred to experiences related to exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and out of school is reported.

Table 8: Comparison of learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in and outside of school (n=97)

RESPONSES TO SURVEY ITEMS									
		Yes in school only		Yes outside school only		Yes in and outside school		No in and outside school	
Survey Item	Categories	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies
Saw someone with a gun	A gang member	3.09%	3	24.74%	24	8.25%	8	50.52%	49
	Not a gang member	0.00%	0	6.19%	6	0.00%	0		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	7.22%	7		
Saw someone with a knife	A gang member	3.09%	3	9.23%	9	22.68%	22	20.62%	20
	Not a gang member	11.34%	11	9.23%	9	10.31%	10		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	13.40%	13		
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose	A gang member	2.06%	2	10.31%	10	16.49%	16	25.77%	25
	Not a gang member	8.25%	8	3.09%	3	14.43%	14		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	19.59%	19		
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon	A gang member	1.03%	1	8.25%	8	0.00%	0	89.69%	87
	Not a gang member	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	1.03%	1		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0		
Someone punched, slapped or kicked you on purpose/Got in physical fight	A gang member	4.12%	4	1.03%	1	4.12%	4	60.82%	59
	Not a gang member	11.34%	11	6.19%	6	5.15%	5		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	7.22%	7		
Someone verbally threatened you	A gang member	9.23%	9	6.19%	6	5.15%	5		
	Not a gang member	4.12%	4	4.12%	4	4.12%	4		
	Other	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	6.19%	6	60.82%	59

Others = This category is specific to "yes in and outside school" column for some learners reported that they were exposed to violence in and outside school but the perpetrator in or outside school was either a gangmember or non-gang member or vice versa.

% = the column percentage

Twenty-two (22.68%) of 97 learners reported that they “saw someone, who is a gang member with a knife both in and outside of school. Twenty-four (24.74%) of the 97 learners reported that they “saw someone (a gang member) with a gun outside school only.” However, most learners were not victims or survivors of gang violence either in and/or outside school. When studying table 1, however, we find that the observed frequency for learners who reported that they witnessed gang violence outside of school is higher than the number of learners who reported they witnessed gang violence in school. These mixed findings reflect that learners demonstrated poor concentration whilst completing the questionnaire, hence the differing response rates. Many of the scenarios sketched in the questionnaire may have triggered learners’ memories of violent acts they have been subjected too and these results support what has been reported earlier. That is children who have been exposed to violence or any other trauma may frequently become forgetful, agitated and distracted as a defence against traumatic memories and/or spontaneous reminders of traumatic experiences. According to Gaborino et al (as cited in van der Merwe, 2001) these avoidance strategies have been associated with concentration difficulties, poor school performance and/or learning impairment.

In addition, when we study tables 2 and 3, we find that most learners reported that persons who are **not** gang members are perpetrating violent acts in and outside of school. These results may support previous research findings which suggest an association between exposure to violence and behavioural problems in children (non-gang members). However, it is not the purpose of this study to suggest an association between learners exposure to gang violence and their participation in high risk or violent behaviour. The researcher does recognize, however, that gangs can and may cause considerable damage and contribute significantly to crime and violence in the schools and communities where they operate.

The lack of direct relationships between exposure to gang violence and learners participation in high risk behaviour may be attributed to the methodological limitations associated with the range of responses allowed by the categorical index of violence exposure used in the survey and analysis of data.

#### **4.6. LEARNERS' FEELINGS ABOUT GANG AND NON-GANG IN AND OUTSIDE SCHOOL**

Learners were asked to describe how the violent activities in and outside of school make them feel. Most reported that the threat or the experience of gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in and outside the school was generally experienced as stressful because it threatens learners' ability to cope and their personal safety, as well as the safety of their family, friends and the community.

Learners also reported that the feeling of helplessness and inability to change the violent situation makes some of them want to avoid all future situations which may result in conflict and possibly violence.

"They made me feel very scared and they make me feel like calling the police, but I don't do that because if they find out I called the police then they are gonna kill me. "[Female (15yrs), Grade 9]

" It is so hard to know that there is something wrong or rather illegal that going on and you cannot do something about it." [Female (18yrs), Grade 12]

Moreover, learners also reported that because of the gang violence in and outside of school, they do not want to attend school regularly. When they do attend school they cannot adequately concentrate or cope with academic work because the presence of gangs disrupt teaching and learning.

### **Vignettes**

“It makes me feel sad and uncomfortable because when you are in school you see gangsters passing. It makes me feel scared and very afraid. It makes me feel like not coming to school anymore.” [Female (15yrs), Grade 9]

“They make me feel insecure, scared and make it very difficult for me to cope at school.” [Female (15yrs), Grade 9]

“I feel that gangsters should be chased off from the school grounds. Because like me, other students come to school to learn but because of them (gangs) we are behind with work and will never catch up with it.” (Female (17yrs), Grade 10]

In addition to learners' fear that they may never cover all subjects or the prescribed curriculum, the researcher found that most learners (44%) described themselves as average academic performers, maintaining a 50% - 60% average and 19% reported that they maintain an average of 40% – 50%.

According to Allen, Heston, Durbin and Pruitt (as cited in Wnchank, 2000) children growing up in a persistently threatening environment develop stress responses systems in midbrain and brainstem areas that are over reactive and hypersensitive. This may be highly adaptive but profound cognitive disturbances may accompany this process, resulting in many children and adolescents experiencing difficulty in concentration as well as difficulty with mastering new material and remembering old skills. Hence their academic performance will be poor, which contributes to lowering of self-esteem.

However, as children are constantly exposed to violence and deteriorating social conditions some learners may consider the gang activities in their communities normal and acceptable. Others may take steps towards protecting themselves by carrying a knife or weapon because violence is viewed as the only way to maintain power and to resolve problems.



### **Vignettes**

“For me it’s like an everyday thing because I come from the Cape Flats and I’m used to it. It’s just that children aren’t even safe at school.” [Female (17yrs), Grade 12]

“It makes nothing to me because I don’t care about gangsters. I don’t care about what they do. I only care about myself.” [Male (16yrs), Grade 10]

“Makes me feel good because we get to go after them and even get to help them (gangs).” [Male (16yrs), Grade 9]

“Sometimes when coming to school I’m forced to carry a scissor because of the gangs in my community and at school.” [Male (17yrs) Grade 12]

The implications of this are sad and very serious because without early intervention violent acts directed against children may send the message that people are not to be trusted because they may harm you in a very fundamental way. A child who has committed violence may believe this because if he/she can do this, so can anybody else. These emotional and behavioural patterns can spiral into a cycle of oppositional personal relationships, which can lead to lifelong anti-social or violent patterns of behaviour. Moreover, learners may believe that they do not have much internal strength and the power to control their own lives, and so feel generally weakened in their ability to cope and succeed in the future (Stavrou, 1993).

#### **4.7. LEARNERS’ PARTICIPATION IN HIGH-RISK BEHAVIOUR**

The high-risk behaviours investigated in this study were use of alcohol and drugs (marijuana and cigarettes), weapon possession, gang involvement and fighting in and outside the school as well as aggressive attitudes. Each of these behaviours constitutes a serious risk to learners.

The observed frequency for learners’ participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour in and outside of school is reported in Table 9.

**Table 9: Learners' Participation in High-Risk Behaviour (n = 97)**

Survey Items	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%
I smoke cigarettes	No	56	57.73%
	Yes, at school	8	8.25%
	Yes, but not at school	33	34.02%
I smoke marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs	No	81	83.51%
	Yes, at school	-	-
	Yes, but not at school	16	16.49%
I drink beer, wine or other alcohol	No	67	69.07%
	Yes, at school	-	-
	Yes, but not at school	30	30.93%
I have carried a knife for protection at school	Yes	11	11.34%
	No	86	88.66%
I have carried a gun for protection at school	Yes	1	1.03%
	No	96	98.97%
I carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school	Yes	11	11.34%
	No	86	88.66%
I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school	Yes	24	24.74%
	No	73	75.26%
I did not go to school because I felt I would not be safe	Yes	13	13.40%
	No	84	86.60%
I would feel safer if I carried a weapon	Yes	28	28.87%
	No	69	71.13%
I have carried a knife for protection outside of school	Yes	26	26.80%
	No	71	73.20%
I have carried a gun for protection outside of school	Yes	9	9.28%
	No	88	90.72%
I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities)	Yes	11	11.34%
	No	86	88.66%
I have seriously considered joining a gang	Yes	13	13.40%
	No	84	86.60%
I got in a physical fight with someone outside of school	Yes	32	32.99%
	No	65	67.01%
It feels good when I hit someone	Yes	14	14.43%
	No	83	85.57%

#### 4.7.1. In school

The observed frequency of learners' overall participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour in school was relatively low. Most learners responded "no" to high-risk behaviours investigated in this study. However, 11 learners (11.34%) reported that they have carried a knife for protection in school, one learner (1.03%) reported that he or she carried a gun for protection to school, 24 learners (24.74%) reported that they considered joining a gang, and 28 learners (28.87%) reported that they would feel safer if they carried a weapon.

##### a. Grade Differences

Grouped grade differences in learners' participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour in school are reported in Table 10. (see Appendix 6.3. for individual grade differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour)

There were no statistically significant grade differences in learners' overall participation in high-risk behaviour in school at 95% confidence level ( $p=0.05$ ). However, there are significant differences at almost 95% confidence level ( $p<0.06$ ) in learners' responses to smoking cigarettes. Eight learners reported that they smoke cigarettes in school and 5 (62.50%) of the 8 learners were Grade 10,11 and 12 learners.

In addition, even though there are no significant grade differences at 95% confidence level, the observed frequency of learners' who have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school was high. Fourteen grade 10,11 &12 learners (58.33%) reported that they seriously considered carrying a weapon to school. Moreover, one learner reported that he/she have carried a gun to school to protect him/herself. These results may support previous research findings which suggests that exposure to violence was predictive of the development of oppositional and defiant behaviour patterns in children.

**Table 10: Grouped grade differences in learners' participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour (n = 97)**

Survey Items	Categories	Grade 8&9		Grade 10; 11&12		Grade Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi-Square	df	p
I smoke cigarettes	No	28	50.00%	28	50.00%	1.159781	2	0.55996
	Yes, at school	3	37.50%	5	62.50%			
	Yes, but not at school	13	39.39%	20	60.61%			
I smoke marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs	No	41	50.62%	40	49.38%	5.474422	1	0.0193
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	3	18.75%	13	81.25%			
I drink beer, wine or other alcohol	No	26	38.81%	41	61.19%	3.755488	1	0.05264
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	18	60.00%	12	40.00%			
I have carried a knife for protection at school	Yes	5	45.45%	6	54.55%	0.000044	1	0.99471
	No	39	45.35	47	54.65%			
I have carried a gun for protection at school	Yes	0	0.00%	1	100%	0.8388365	1	0.35973
	No	44	45.83%	52	54.17%			
I carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school	Yes	4	36.36%	7	63.64%	0.4052234	1	0.52441
	No	40	46.51%	46	53.49%			
I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school	Yes	10	41.67%	14	58.33%	0.1755925	1	0.67519
	No	34	46.58%	39	53.42%			
I did not go to school because I felt I would not be safe	Yes	4	30.77%	9	69.23%	1.289603	1	0.25612
	No	40	47.62%	44	52.38%			
I would feel safer if I carried a weapon	Yes	12	42.86%	16	57.14%	0.0995529	1	0.75237
	No	32	46.38%	37	53.62%			
I have carried a knife for protection outside of school	Yes	12	46.15%	14	53.85%	0.009013	1	0.92437
	No	32	45.07%	39	54.93%			
I have carried a gun for protection outside of school	Yes	4	44.44%	5	55.56%	0.0033612	1	0.95377
	No	40	45.45%	48	54.55%			
I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities)	Yes	8	72.73%	3	27.27%	3.74902	1	0.05284
	No	36	41.86%	50	58.14%			
I have seriously considered joining a gang	Yes	8	61.54%	5	38.46%	1.585188	1	0.20802
	No	36	42.86%	48	57.14%			
I got in a physical fight with someone outside of school	Yes	13	40.63%	19	59.38%	0.4321301	1	0.51095
	No	31	47.69%	34	52.31%			
It feels good when I hit someone	Yes	6	42.86%	8	57.14%	0.0413804	1	0.83881
	No	38	45.78%	45	54.22%			

**b. Gender Differences**

Gender differences in learners' participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour in school are also reported in Table 11.

**Table 11 Gender differences in learners' participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour (n =97)**

Survey Items	Categories	Male		Female		Gender Comparisons		
		Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	ChiSquare	df	p
I smoke cigarettes	No	25	44.64%	31	55.36%	0.6715026	2	0.7148
	Yes, at school	3	37.50%	5	62.50%			
	Yes, but not at school	17	51.52%	16	48.48%			
I smoke marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs	No	38	46.91%	43	53.09%	0.0537673	1	0.81663
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	7	43.75%	9	56.25%			
I drink beer, wine or other alcohol	No	31	46.27%	36	53.73%	0.0013199	1	0.97102
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	14	46.67%	16	53.33%			
I have carried a knife for protection at school	Yes	9	81.82%	2	18.18%	6.261067	1	0.01234
	No	36	41.86%	50	58.14%			
I have carried a gun for protection at school	Yes	1	100%	0	0.00%	1.167593	1	0.2799
	No	44	45.83%	52	54%			
I carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school	Yes	8	72.73%	3	27.27%	3.46001	1	0.06287
	No	37	43.02%	49	56.98%			
I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school	Yes	14	58.33%	10	58.33%	1.828569	1	0.1763
	No	31	42.47%	42	57.53%			
I did not go to school because I felt I would not be safe	Yes	4	30.77%	9	69.23%	1.473214	1	0.22484
	No	41	48.81%	43	51.19%			
I would feel safer if I carried a weapon	Yes	15	53.57%	13	46.43%	0.8158644	1	0.36639
	No	30	43.48%	39	56.52%			
I have carried a knife for protection outside of school	Yes	15	57.69%	11	42.31%	1.823954	1	0.17685
	No	30	42.25%	41	57.75%			
I have carried a gun for protection outside of school	Yes	7	77.78%	2	22.22%	3.929451	1	0.04745
	No	38	43.18%	50	56.82%			
I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities)	Yes	3	27.27%	8	72.73%	1.823581	1	0.17689
	No	42	48.84%	44	51.16%			
I have seriously considered joining a gang	Yes	6	46.15%	7	53.85%	0.0003416	1	0.98525
	No	39	46.43%	45	53.57%			
I got in a physical fight with someone outside of school	Yes	18	56.25%	14	43.75%	1.866102	1	0.17193
	No	27	41.54%	38	58.46%			
It feels good when I hit someone	Yes	9	64.29%	5	35.71%	2.106504	1	0.14668
	No	36	43.37%	47	56.63%			

There are significant gender differences in learner's responses to "I have carried a knife for protection at school" at 99% confidence level ( $p = 0.01$ ). Eleven learners reported that they have carried a knife for protection at school and 9 (81.92%) of the 11 learners were male. There are also significant gender differences in learner's responses to "I have carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school" at 94% confidence level ( $p = 0.06$ ). Eleven learners reported that they carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school and 8 (72.73%) of the 11 learners were male. This trend may support the supposition that mostly male learners participate in high-risk or violence.

However, even though there are significant gender differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour in school and male learners reported more involvement in high-risk behaviours than did females, the absence of significant gender differences in attitudes to and participation in the other categories of violence or high-risk behaviour in and outside of school is slightly surprising. Traditionally, females have been socialised to be less aggressive and tolerant of violence than men. This trend has not emerged in the findings of the present study, and it would seem that traditional social norms have not mediated the development of attitudes to violence, or their participation in such incidents.

Unfortunately there is a paucity of literature on girls' violence, as most research on youth violence does not distinguish between girls and boys. Much of the work focused on explaining why so few girls and women participate in criminal activity compared to males rather than on what motivates females toward crime and delinquency (Weiler, 1999).

In this study one female learner reported that a gang member outside of school raped her, 17 learners (17.53%) reported that they witnessed sexual assaults in school and 16 learners

(16.49%) reported that they witnessed sexual assaults outside of school (see in Table 1). Studies have reported that girls are the most frequent victims of sexual assault including rape (CIAC as cited in Department of Education et al, 1999). Hence, one may assume that female learners may have had to take steps towards protecting themselves, by participating in high-risk behaviour either carrying a knife or weapon or joining a gang for protection to survive or to feel safe.

#### **4.7.2. Outside of school**

The observed frequency of learners' overall participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour outside of school was relatively higher outside of school than their participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour in school (see Table 9). Twenty-six learners (26.80%) reported that they have carried a knife for protection outside of school, 9 learners (9.28%) reported that they carried a gun for protection outside of school, 32 learners (32.99%) reported that they got in a physical fight with someone outside of school. Moreover, it is very disconcerting that learners reported a substantially higher consumption of alcohol and substance abuse outside of school. This trend may support a supposition that young children due to lack of supervision, emotional immaturity or vulnerability and quest for independence may be easily recruited into gang culture.

##### **a. Grade differences**

Grouped grade differences in learners' participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour outside of school are also reported in Table 10. (see Appendix 6.3. for individual grade differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour)

There were no statistically significant grade differences in learners' overall participation in high-risk behaviour outside of school at 95% confidence level ( $p=0.05$ ). However, there are significant differences at almost 95% confidence level ( $p<0.06$ ). Thirty-three learners reported

that they smoke cigarettes outside of school and 20 (60.61%) of the 33 learners were Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners.

There are also significant differences at almost 95% confidence level ( $p < 0.06$ ) in learners' responses to drinking alcohol. Thirty learners reported that they drink beer, wine or alcohol outside of school and 18 (60%) of the 30 learners were Grade 8 and 9 learners. Lastly, there are significant differences at almost 95% confidence level ( $p < 0.06$ ) in learners' responses to "I have joined a gang. Eleven learners reported that they have joined a gang and 8 (72.73%) of the 11 learners were Grade 8 and 9 learners.

It is very disconcerting that mostly Grade 8 and 9 learners reported a substantially higher consumption of alcohol outside of school and involvement or participation in a gang outside of school. Thirty-three (79%) of the 43 Grade 8 and 9 learners are between 12 and 15 years (early – middle adolescence).

Studies on stress and on the psychology of children show that the years between 11 and 13 are significant because this is a vulnerable time in a child's life, during which adolescents have increasing needs for independence from their families. Until the age of 11, the home environment relatively powerfully influences a child. This control tends to be lessened when the child reaches the age of 11 or 12, and spends much time in an unsupervised situation. Peer influence becomes more central as adolescents seek to rediscover their identities through their friendship groups. There is also growing pressure during this stage to move away from an academic identity. This is especially true for boys. Material demonstrations of success become increasingly important indicators of esteem and identity. This new independence in forming relationships with people other than family members means that teenagers can get involved in activities which may lead them into situations for which they are emotionally unprepared. These children tend to be easily recruited into gang culture where gangs are seen as providing



opportunities and an opening for identity and belonging (Stavrou, 1993; Dept of Education et al, 1999).

b. Gender differences

Gender differences in learners’ participation or endorsement of high-risk behaviour outside of school are also reported in Table 11.

There were no statistically significant gender differences in learners’ overall participation in high-risk behaviour outside of school at 95% confidence level ( $p=0.05$ ). However, there are significant gender differences in learner’s responses to “I have a gun for protection outside of school” at almost 95% confidence level ( $p=0.04745$ ). One male learner reported that he have carried a gun for protection outside of school.

4.7.3. Comparison of Learners’ Participation in High-Risk Behaviour in and outside the school

The comparison of learners’ participation in high-risk behaviour in and out of school is reported in Table 12.

**Table 12: Comparison of learners’ participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside School (n=97)**

	Yes in school only		Yes outside school only		Yes in and outside school		No in and outside school	
	%	Observed Frequency	%	Observed Frequency	%	Observed Frequency	%	Observed Frequency
Carried a knife for protection	3.10%	3	18.56%	18	8.24%	8	70.10%	68
Carried a gun for protection	0.00%	0	7.22%	7	1.00%	1	91.75%	89
I got in a physical fight with someone	9.28%	9	18.56%	18	14.43%	14	57.73%	56
Smoke cigarettes	8.25%	8	34.02%	33	0.00%	0	57.73%	56
Smoke marijuana	0.00%	0	16.49%	16	0.00%	0	83.51%	81
Drink alcohol	0.00%	0	30.93%	30	0.00%	0	69.07%	67

Most learners responded “No” to all items concerning weapon carrying and fighting in and outside school. For example 89 learners (91.75%) responded ‘no’ to ‘carrying a gun for protection in and outside school; 68 learners (70.10%) responded “no” to carrying a knife for protection in and outside school; 56 learners (57.73%) responded “no” to “I got in a physical fight with someone”.

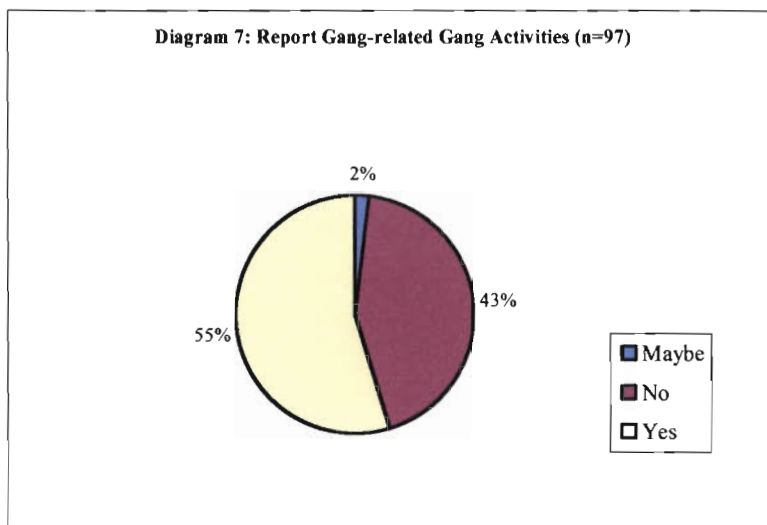
However, the report rate for learners’ drinking alcohol and smoking cigarettes are substantially high for in the “Yes outside school only” category. Thirty learners (30.93%) reported that they do drink alcohol outside school, 33 learners (34.02%) reported that they smoke cigarettes outside of school and 16 learners (16.49%) reported that they smoke marijuana outside school only.

During adolescence, many people begin to experiment with alcohol and drugs. Pohorecky and Wagner (as cited in Spear, 2003) reported that anxiety and stress might play an important part in adolescents’ initiation of alcohol or other drug use.

In this study learners are exposed gang violence in and outside of school and many reported that they generally experience it to be stressful and anxiety provoking. Hence one may assume that the learners’ consumption of alcohol and use of marijuana and cigarettes is influenced by stress. It is not the purpose of this study to establish if there is a correlation between the level of learners’ exposure to gang violence and their participation in violent behaviour and their consumption of alcohol and drug use but it needs to be recognised as an important aspect of youth violence research.

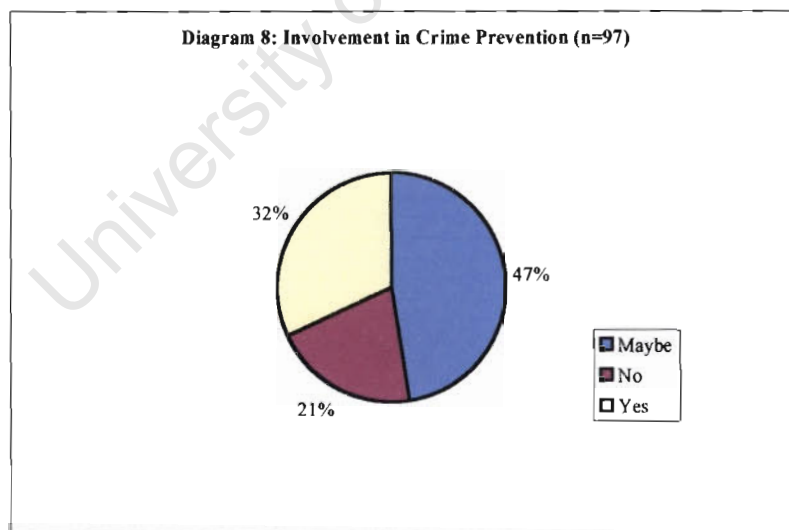
## 4.8 CRIME PREVENTION

### 4.81. Report Gang-related Activities



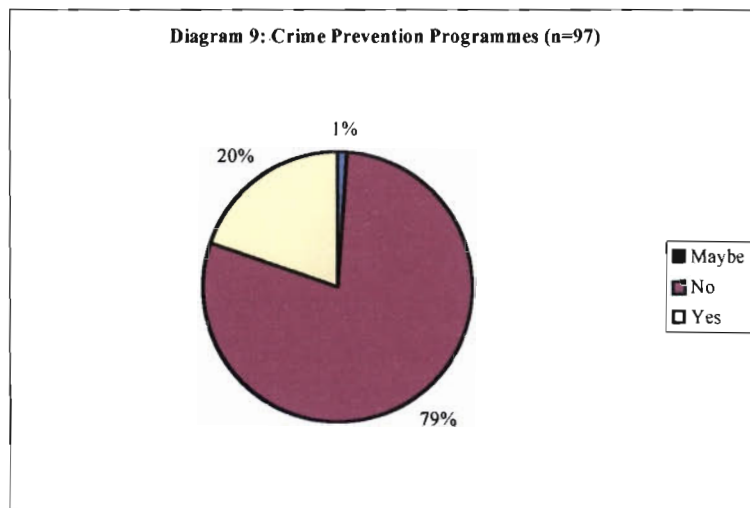
Fifty-three learners (55%) reported, “yes” that they would report gang-related activities to an adult (teacher, police); 42 learners (43%) responded “no” and 2 learners (2%) were uncertain as to whether they would report gang-related activities to an adult.

### 4.8.2. Involvement in crime prevention



Twenty learners (21%) demonstrated a willingness to be involved in crime prevention, 45 learners (47%) were hesitant to be involved and 21 learners (21%) responded “no”.

#### 4.8.3. Crime Prevention programmes in School



Seventy-seven learners (79%) reported that no crime prevention programs were offered in school and 19 learners (20%) reported that crime prevention programs have been offered. Ten of the 19 learners are in grade 9 and 4 are in grade 8. This may imply that the only workshop(s) presented at the selected secondary school was by the researcher the preceding year when the current Grade 9 learners were in grade 8. This may explain why such a high percentage (47%) of learners were reluctant to be involved in crime prevention and 43% reported that they would not report gang-related activities to an adult (i.e. a teacher or police). Learners have not been provided with the necessary information to make an informed decision. Nor have opportunities been created to equip learners with the life skills to affect change in the school.

However, despite the lack of education and training to empower learners, a number of recommendations were made by many learners to address the difficulties they may experience in school or en route to school. Learners reported that there exists a need for the development of improved access control mechanisms and stringent rules or policies to monitor and control learners' exposure to gang violence and their participation in high-risk behaviour in school. Suggestions made included developing a clear set of expectations (code of conduct) in terms of the behaviour expected of both learner and educator. These should be coupled with the

establishment of a fair set of sanctions for the transgression of rule, which is clearly articulated and consistently applied with specific reference to possession of weapons, drug abuse or sales, threats, bullying, gang activity or victimisation. More importantly clear protocol or procedures must be established for students to report crime-related information without fear of retaliation. (Wood et al 2000, Eliasov & Frank 2000, Department of Education 2000, Duncan Education cc 1998). Many learners reported that they would not report gang-related activities to an adult (police or teacher) because they fear they might be victimised. Moreover, learners also indicated that they do not know whom to trust and they believe teachers and/or police cannot do anything to protect them.

**Vignette**

Our school needs a strict disciplinary act for drugs and gangsterism on our school fast. Cause it is not long for our school will be taken over by gangsterism and drug dealers. [Female (17yrs), Grade 10]

Police does not provide a code of secrecy. [Male (18yrs), Grade 11]

Because you cannot trust anybody these days. There is no such thing as secrets. Once those criminals find out that I'm the one who reported them then what happens to me? I'd rather mind my own business. [Female (18yrs), Grade 12]

Other strategies or recommendations made by learners include environmental modifications and the enhancement of security systems and facilities at school.

**Vignette**

They should get a security guard at the gate and if someone should come in they must produce a student card. [Male (17yrs), Grade 10]

They should have surveillance cameras around the school and should have ids being searched any day any time. [Male (17yrs), Grade 11]

Lastly, learners suggested that educators and service providers create opportunities to develop leadership within the pupil body and to mobilise learners within youth development programmes.

### **Vignette**

I think they should call the people responsible for crime prevention programmes. So that they can come and talk to our school about crime because on the school there are a lot of gang members, even girls are gang members [Female (15yrs), Grade 8]

Get one of the police officers teach us about gang relations at school and how to prevent being hurt or threatened and also how to protect ourselves in serious situations. Self defence classes and martial arts. [Male (16yrs), Grade 11]

I think the principal must let people who do different jobs come to our school and teach us about their jobs. [Female (13yrs), Grade 9]

I think the school should have sports so that everyone can play and they will never join a gang [Male (13yrs), Grade 9]

### **4.9. CONCLUSION**

On the basis of this study, it is concluded that learners who attend the selected secondary school are growing up in a community characterised by gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in and outside of school. Many have been threatened physically or verbally or have directly or indirectly experienced gang violence in and outside the school. However the level of learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school was relatively higher than learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence in school.

Survey results also identified the observed frequency of learners' participation in high-risk behaviour i.e. levels of fighting, weapon carrying, and substance use and attitudes towards violence and aggression. These findings concur with what current and recent reports tells us that today serious problems disrupt teaching and learning and threaten the safety of children and educators in many schools in the Western Cape.

## **CHAPTER 5**

# **RECOMMENDATIONS**

University of Cape Town

### RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, in response to the findings and inference drawn from the data, a number of recommendations drawn specifically from the participants in the study and universal crime prevention and safe-learning strategies in schools are made to address the difficulties that learners in the selected secondary school may experience.

#### 5.2. SCHOOL-BASED INTERVENTION

In July 1999, Mr Kader Asmal, the Minister of Education, in his call to action, condemned the unacceptably high levels of violence within schools, saying that schools must be reclaimed as spaces of peace and stability from those who are violent in both word and deed (Department of Education, the Secretariat for Safety and Security & the National Youth Commission, 1999).

##### 5.2.1. Recommendations

###### a. Stabilising schools and creating an enabling environment

One of the first tasks for schools, if they are to play a role in crime prevention, is to become stabilised and to develop an infrastructure, taking particular cognisance of the physical resources required for basic school functioning and for making the school a safer and more conducive environment to effective learning (Wood, Sylvester, Eliasov, Vettenburg, & Huybregts, 2000 and Department of Education et al, 1999).

In this study learners made recommendations ranging from strategies that change the school environment and strategies that can change the individual (see chapter 4). These recommendations attempt to set up systems and structures that can foster the creation of learning



environments which are safe, reinforce positive behavioural and thought patterns and nurture creativity and leadership amongst learners and educators. However, providing a service that truly benefit learners should not be the task of educators alone, but should be undertaken in conjunction with the parents and guardians and other role-players at all levels of government and the non-government sector.

Therefore, it is proposed that a school security committee should be set up. This should be made up of a reliable group of learners, educators, and community members who are given the responsibility of identifying the school's security problems, liaising with significant people in the community, drafting a school security plan, overseeing and monitoring the implementation of the school's security plan and charting and monitoring the rise or decline in school-based crime and violence (Department of Education, 2000 and Duncan Education, 1998).

#### **b. Training for Educators**

School violence has given new urgency to improving the recruitment and training of teachers. Apart from providing knowledge and skills with regard to the education of children, new educators and those already in service must be given a broader vision regarding the role they must play as educators of children.

In this study learners reported that they wouldn't report any gang-related activity to an adult (teacher, police) because they feel teachers won't be able to do anything. Moreover some learners reported that teachers do not believe them if and when they do report an incident. Hence, it is recommended that in-service training workshops be held regularly to ensure that educators develop a broad understanding of the pressures that children and family face in contemporary South African society. Regular opportunities should be created for training and the upgrading of skills and linking educators to resources and networks that can assist them in

their task (Department of Education et al, 1999). In this manner, the academic, personal and social needs of both learners and educators will be met.

### **c. Empowering young people**

The United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency, otherwise known as the Riyadh Guidelines (adopted in 1990), have recommended that schools should be used as resource and referral centres for the provision of counselling, particularly for children with special needs and for the dissemination of information on the prevention of drug, alcohol, and substance abuse by children (Karth, 1995).

In this study many learners reported that no crime prevention programmes were offered in the school (see Diagram 9). Moreover many learners were also very hesitant to get involved in crime prevention activities (see Diagram 8). Such may be a repercussion of the limited lifeskills training or workshops offered at the selected secondary school.

Studies have shown that as a child reaches adolescence, there is an increasing need for constructive activities to increase individual feelings of recognition and self-esteem and to establish a sense of identity and belonging. Such activities range from sports (such as soccer and netball), martial arts, art, drama, reflective discussion groups, youth and community organisations, to youth and community service (Cornell and Loper, 1998 and Department of Welfare et al, 1996). These skills will build confidence and provide learners with ammunition to prevent and deter juvenile delinquency or gang involvement. Moreover participation in recreation may lead to the modification of aggressive behaviour, a relief from anxiety, and provides pleasure and the satisfaction of physical release in strenuous pursuits (Department of Education et al, 1999; National Crime Prevention Council, 2002; Schwartz, 1996; Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 1994 and Karth 1995).

Therefore, it is proposed that age-appropriate life skills and empowerment programmes be introduced in schools by networking with health services, social workers and other support

services. Topics should include sex education, poverty alleviation, domestic violence and family breakdown, conflict resolution, communication and decision making skills (Department of Education et al, 1999, Wood et al, 2000).

Mentoring programmes must also be introduced to provide young people with positive role models as well as steady friends who will support them, guide them and teach them to lead a productive life. Many young people have no role models, for whatever reason, and thus have no one to help them to distinguish between positive and negative behaviour. Mentors can play several different roles in a young person's life and help them towards intellectual and personal growth (Karth, 1995; Eliasov & Frank, 2000; Wood et al, 2000; Alexander and Spergel, 1991; Ascher, 1994; Schwartz, 1996 and Department of Education et al, 1999).

### **5.3. CONCLUSIONS**

The recommendations put forward in this chapter are designed as a 'starting point' to be developed and modified by the school governing body and the school management of the selected school through further consultation with government departments, community-based organisations, non-government organisations and significant other role players.

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# **APPENDICES**

University of Cape Town

**APPENDIX 1**

**Content**

Collage of news articles featured in Cape Times and/or Cape Argus

University of Cape Town

# Crime places Western Cape schools in crisis

**Battle shock hits school on  
front line in gang warfare**

Teachers and pupils traumatised as shootouts continue

Another school day,  
another gun battle

Teachers flee  
school hell

Yellow Door campaign to  
protect pupils from violence

**Schools in the Cape  
are battlefields**

Gauntlet of gangster terror is  
way of life for township teachers

**Schoolchildren die in  
Eerste River gang war**

**APPENDIX 2**

**Content**

School Safety Survey (original)

devised Cornell and Loper of the Virginia University School Project

University of Cape Town

## SCHOOL SAFETY SURVEY

*We want all students to be safe at school. These questions will help us know if certain kinds of problems occur at your school. Your answers will be confidential and anonymous. No one will know how you answered. Please read each question and tell the truth. Fill in circles completely.*

**A-B School Code:** This two digit code will be provided by your instructor.

**C Age:**

0	eleven	4	fifteen
1	twelve	5	sixteen
2	thirteen	6	seventeen
3	fourteen	7	eighteen and above

**D What is your racial/ethnic background?**

0	Asian-American
1	Black, African-American
2	Hispanic, Mexican, Latino(a), Chicano(a)
3	Native American (American Indian)
4	White, European-American
5	Other

**E Gender:**

0	Male
1	Female

**F Grade:**

0	7th grade
1	9th grade
2	11th grade

**G In general, what are your grades this year?**

0	Mostly A's and B's
1	Mostly B's and C's
2	Mostly C's and D's
3	Mostly D's and below

**H How many students at school do you consider to be really good friends?**

0	none	3	three
1	one	4	more than three
2	two		

**I How many adults at school could you talk to about a personal problem?**

0	none	3	three
1	one	4	more than three
2	two		

**J Is there any place where you feel not safe at school? (If Yes, fill in one that applies--choose only one)**

0	No place	5	hallways
1	bus stop	6	classrooms
2	school bus	7	lunchrooms
3	outside of building	8	gym
4	restrooms	9	other

Please give your honest opinion.

	A Yes	B No
1. If someone threatens you, it is okay to hit that person.	A	B
2. It feels good when I hit someone.	A	B
3. I am reading this survey carefully.	A	B
4. I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities.)	A	B
5. I have seriously considered joining a gang.	A	B
6. I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school.	A	B
7. I would be safer if I carried a weapon.	A	B
8. I am telling the truth on this survey.	A	B

What happens to you at school and outside of school?

*Did any of these things happen to you at school in the past month (30 days)? "At school" means anywhere in school buildings, on school property, on a school bus, or at a school bus stop.*

	A No	B Yes, Once	C Yes, More Than Once
9. Someone punched, slapped, or kicked you on purpose at school.	A	B	C
10. Someone grabbed you or shoved you on purpose at school.	A	B	C
11. Someone threatened to hurt you at school.	A	B	C
12. Someone in a gang threatened you at school.	A	B	C
13. You carried a knife for protection at school.	A	B	C
14. You carried a gun for protection at school.	A	B	C
15. You carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection at school.	A	B	C
16. You personally saw someone (not police) with a gun at school.	A	B	C
17. You personally saw someone with a knife (for protection) at school.	A	B	C
18. You got in a physical fight with someone at school.	A	B	C
19. You used marijuana or other illegal drugs at school or before school.	A	B	C
20. You drank beer, wine, or other alcohol at school or before school.	A	B	C
21. You saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose at school.	A	B	C
22. You saw someone being threatened at school.	A	B	C

Did any of these things happen to you outside of school in the past month (30 days)?

	A	B	C
23. Someone punched, slapped, or kicked you on purpose outside of school.	A	B	C
24. Someone grabbed you or shoved you on purpose outside of school.	A	B	C
25. Someone threatened to hurt you outside of school.	A	B	C
26. Someone in a gang threatened you outside of school.	A	B	C
27. You carried a knife for protection outside of school.	A	B	C
28. You carried a gun for protection outside of school.	A	B	C
29. You carried some other weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection outside of school.	A	B	C
30. You personally saw someone with a gun for protection outside of school.	A	B	C
31. You personally saw someone with a knife for protection outside of school.	A	B	C
32. You got in a physical fight with someone outside of school.	A	B	C
33. You used marijuana or other illegal drugs outside of school.	A	B	C
34. You drank beer, wine, or alcohol outside of school.	A	B	C
35. You saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school.	A	B	C
36. You saw someone being threatened outside of school.	A	B	C

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **Content**

School Safety Survey (modified)

University of Cape Town



## School Safety Survey

We want all students to be safe at school. These questions will help us to know if certain kinds of problems occur at your school. Your answers will be confidential and anonymous. No one will know how you answered.

***Please read each question carefully and complete the questionnaire individually, and DO NOT consult with one another.***

### A. DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS

1. Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years old

2. Gender:      Male      Female

3. Grade: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Racial/Ethnic Background:

- a. Coloured
- b. Xhosa
- c. Zulu
- d. Sotho
- e. Other \_\_\_\_\_

5. Religious Orientation:

- a. Islam
- b. Christian
- c. African Traditional Religions
- d. Hindu
- e. Buddhist
- f. Other \_\_\_\_\_

6. Residential Area: \_\_\_\_\_

7. Home Language: \_\_\_\_\_

8. Occupation: Father \_\_\_\_\_  
Mother \_\_\_\_\_

### B. GENERAL KNOWLEDGE ABOUT GANGS

9. What is a gang?

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10. What do gang members do?

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## 11. Why do young people join gangs?

### **C. WHAT HAPPENS TO YOU AT SCHOOL?**

**12. Have you seen any gangs in school?**

- a Yes  
b No

**13. If yes, what kind of gang activities have you seen in school?**

- a. Shootings
- b. Stabbings
- c. Muggings
- d. Sexual Assault
- e. Physical Threats
- f. Drug Use
- g. Drug Trade
- h. Arrests
- i. Chase by gangs
- j. Dead Bodies
- k. Murders
- l. Suicides
- m. Other (please list)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**14. Which of these activities above occur the most?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**15. How many times have you seen gang activities in school the past 30 days?**

- a. Never  
b. Once  
c. Twice  
d. Three times  
e. Four times  
f. Five times  
g. Six times  
h. Everyday

**16. Explain how the gang activities in your school make you feel?**

University

*Did any of these things happen to you at school in the past (30 days)? "At school" means anywhere in the school building, on school property, on the school bus, at a school bus top or gate.*

**17. You personally saw someone with a gun at school.**

- a Yes, but not a gang member
- b Yes, a gang member
- c No

**18. You personally saw someone with a knife at school.**

- a Yes, but not a gang member
- b Yes, a gang member
- c No

**19. You got in a physical fight with someone at school.**

- a Yes, but not with a gang member
- b Yes, with a gang member
- c No

**20. You saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school.**

- a Yes, but not by a gang member
- b Yes, by a gang member
- c No

**21. Someone verbally threatened you at school.**

- a Yes, but not a gang member
- b Yes, a gang member
- c No

**22. Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon (a gun or knife) at school.**

- a Yes, but not a gang member
- b Yes, a gang member
- c No

**D. WHAT HAPPENS TO YOU OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL?**

**23. Have you seen any gangs outside of school?**

- a Yes
- b No

**24. If yes, what kind of gang activities have you seen outside of school?**

- |                    |                       |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| a Shootings        | i Chase by gangs      |
| b Stabbings        | j Dead Bodies         |
| c Muggings         | k Murders             |
| d Sexual Assault   | l Suicides            |
| e Physical Threats | m Other (please list) |
| f Drug Use         |                       |
| g Drug Trade       |                       |
| h Arrests          |                       |

**25. Which of these activities above occur the most?**

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**26. How many times have you seen gang activities in school the past 30 days?**

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| a. Never       | e. Four times |
| b. Once        | f. Five times |
| c. Twice       | g. Six times  |
| d. Three times | h. Everyday   |

27. Explain how gang activities outside of school make you feel?

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*Did any of these things happen to you outside of school in the past month (30 days)?*

- 28. Someone punched, slapped, or kicked you on purpose outside of school**

  - a Yes, but not a gang member
  - b Yes, a gang member
  - c No
- 29. Someone verbally threatened you in outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not a gang member
  - b Yes, a gang member
  - c No
- 30. Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon (a gun or knife) outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not a gang member
  - b Yes, a gang member
  - c No
- 31. You personally saw someone with a gun outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not a gang member
  - b Yes, a gang member
  - c No
- 32. You personally saw someone with a knife outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not a gang member
  - b Yes, a gang member
  - c No
- 33. You saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not by a gang member
  - b Yes, by a gang member
  - c No
- 34. You saw someone being threatened outside of school.**

  - a Yes, but not by a gang member
  - b Yes, by a gang member
  - c No

**E. YOUTH RISK BEHAVIOUR**  
*Please give your honest opinion*

- 35. In general, how would you describe your grades in school?**
- a. Mostly A (80%+)
  - b. Mostly B (70 – 80%)
  - c. Mostly C (60 – 70%)
- d. Mostly D (50 – 60%)
  - e. Mostly E (40 – 50%)
  - f. Mostly F (Below 40%)

**36. Do you smoke cigarettes?**

- a Yes, at school
- b b. Yes, but not at school
- c c. No

**37. If yes, how old were you when you started smoking?**

- a. 8 years old or younger
- b. 9 or 10 years old
- c. 11 or 12 years old
- d. 13 or 14 years old
- e. 15 or 16 years old
- f. 17 years old or older

**38. Do you smoke marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs?**

- a Yes, at school
- b b. Yes, but not at school
- c c. No

**39. If yes, how old were you when you started smoking marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs?**

- a. 8 years old or younger
- b. 9 or 10 years old
- c. 11 or 12 years old
- d. 13 or 14 years old
- e. 15 or 16 years old
- f. 17 years old or older

**40. Do you drink beer, wine, or other alcohol?**

- a Yes, at school
- b. Yes, but not at school
- c.No

**41 . How old were you when you started drinking alcohol?**

- a. 8 years old or younger
- b. 9 or 10 years old
- c. 11 or 12 years old
- d. 13 or 14 years old
- e. 15 or 16 years old
- f. 17 years old or older

*In the past 12 months did any of these things happen to you?*

41. I have carried a knife for protection at school.	Yes	No
42. I have carried a gun for protection at school.	Yes	No
43. I carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection at school.	Yes	No
44. I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school.	Yes	No
45. I did not go to school because I felt I would not be safe at school or on your way to or from school.	Yes	No
46. I would feel safer if you carried a weapon.	Yes	No
47. I have seriously consider attempting suicide	Yes	No
48. I am reading this survey carefully.	Yes	No
49. I have carried a knife for protection outside of school.	Yes	No
50. I have carried a gun for protection outside of school.	Yes	No
51. I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities).	Yes	No
52. I have seriously considered joining a gang.	Yes	No
53. I am telling the truth on this survey.	Yes	No
54. I got in a physical fight with someone outside of school.	Yes	No
55. It feels good when I hit someone.	Yes	No

**F. CRIME PREVENTION**

**56. Will you report any gang-related activity to an adult (teacher, police)**

- a Yes
- b No

**57. If no, why won't you report the incident(s)?**

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**58. Has any crime prevention programme been hosted at your school?**

- a Yes
- b No

**59. If yes, what programmes have you attended?**

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**60. If no, what do you think your school should do about gang activities in school or the community?**

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**61. Are you willing to be part of the solution for preventing violence and crime in your school and neighbourhood?**

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Maybe (Need more information on how)

**ADDITIONAL COMMENTS**

**62. Is anything else you would like to share?**

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***Thank you for taking the time to answer these questions...***

## **APPENDIX 4**

### **Content**

- 4.1.** E-mail to Dr David McConville and Dr Dewey Cornell of the University of Virginia School Project
- 4.2.** Letter to Headmaster of the secondary school selected on 20 March 2002
- 4.3.** Letter to Headmaster of the secondary school selected on 22 April 2002

#### Appendix. 4.1.

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-----Original Message-----

**From:** David W. McConville [mailto:dwm9k@cms.mail.virginia.edu]

**Sent:** Monday, April 01, 2002 5:44 PM

**To:** marione\_z@yahoo.com

**Subject:** School survey

Marione,

Dr. Cornell and I have both reviewed your survey and have no objections to your using it. We came up with some suggestions that might help you, but you should feel free to use them or discard them as you see fit.

1. One thing Dewey has found is that some students will deny they belong to a gang, but then admit they belong to a crew, clique, posse, or some other kind of group that is essentially a gang, too, but called something different. I don't know what names kids may use for gangs in South Africa, but you might consider this possibility. Also, I cannot recall at this moment if you have included a definition of a gang in the survey, but you might consider that if you don't have it already.

2. For questions 9-26 you might consider giving students an option to report violence that is not gang-related. For example, your responses could include a range from: NO - Yes, a gang member - Yes, but not a gang member.

3. You might consider wording questions 40-57 so that all of them use either "you" or "I" consistently.

We wish you the best of luck in your research. Let us know if we can be of further assistance.

David McConville  
Dewey G. Cornell, Ph.D.  
University of Virginia  
dcornell@virginia.edu  
434-924-0793  
fax 434-924-1433

*Marione wrote:*

Dear David and Dr Cornell

Herewith I would like to request your permission to replicate your school safety survey and adapt it to a South African context.

Attached you'll find the general introduction to my dissertation and the questionnaire.

Please advise me accordingly.

Many thanks  
Marione  
MSocSc: Probation and Correctional Practice  
University of Cape Town  
South Africa



**20 March 2002**

Dear Headmaster

This follows our telephonic conversation this morning.

The study will be exploratory and a survey entitled “School Safety Survey” devised by Cornell and Loper of the Virginia University School Project, appropriately modified, will be used as the measuring instrument.

In particular this research study will aim to:

1. assess learners’ general knowledge of gangs
2. compare grade and gender differences in exposure to gang-violence and other high-risk behaviour in and outside of school
3. compare learners’ participation in high-risk behaviour in and outside of school.
4. assess the effects of exposure to gang violence in and outside of school on learners

Included you’ll find the information on the study I would like to conduct at your school. I hope the teaching staff and learners would like to participate in this project. All information shared or obtained will be strictly confidential and the identity of the school and learners will be protected.

Included you’ll find:

Chapter 1: General Introduction

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 3: The research methodology (draft)

20 copies of the Questionnaire

Please share this information with teaching staff, ask if they have any objections to the study being conducted and lastly to criticize the content of the questionnaire or add further questions.

Anxiously awaiting your response.

Sincerely

Ms Marione H Erasmus

Masters Student: Probation and Correctional Practice

Department of Social Development

University of Cape Town

**22 April 2002**

Dear Headmaster

Herewith I would like to thank you and the teaching staff for granting me permission to conduct the study at the school.

I looked at the class list provided and counted 659 learners in total, however only 125 learners will participate in the study. As far as the sample population is concerned, disproportional stratified sampling was used, because the strata or subgroup i.e. the different grades, varied with regard to the proportion of their members appearing in the population. Stratified sampling involves breaking up the population into various subgroups or strata and applying random sampling to each category. This kind of sampling was used to ensure that the different groups of the population, such as gender, race and age, are sufficiently represented.

Included you'll find the names of the learners, from grade 8 to 12 both male and female, who have been selected.

Secondly as far as the administration of questionnaires are concerned, I would like to meet with the selected 125 learners on **Friday 12 May 2002** in a lecture hall that will not be in use at the proposed times.

The proposed times:

Grade 8 & 9 at 9am

Grade 10, 11 & 12 at 11am

Kindly inform the respective class teachers of the selected learners participation in the study and let me know if the administration of the questionnaires can take place on the proposed date and time. If the time and date does interfere with any academic event(s) the alternative dates and times can also be suggested.

Your kindness and patience in this regard is much appreciated.

Sincerely

Ms Marione H Erasmus

Masters Student: Probation and Correctional Practice

Department of Social Development

University of Cape Town

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **Content**

Raw data

University of Cape Town

# RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q8	Q12	Q15	Q17
	Learner	Age	Gender	Grade	Race	Religion	Residence	Language	Father	Mother	Gangs in School	gang activities in school	saw someone with a gun at school
1	P2	15yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Christian	Kalksteentfontein	English		Unemployed	no	twice	No
2	P10	13yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Christian	Eindhoven Delft	English		Machinist	no	never	No
3	P23	14yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Driver	Housewife	no	never	No
4	P25	13yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Administrator	Administrator	no	never	No
5	P26	14yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Islam		English	Handyman	Factory Worker	Yes	once	Yes, a gang member
6	P27	14yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English			no	never	No
7	P28	13yrs	Female		Coloured	Christian	Mitchells Plain	English	Unemployed	Foschini Head Office	Yes	never	No
8	P29	14yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Islam	Wetton	English	Principal	Housewife	Yes	never	No
9	P24	15yrs	Female	8	Coloured	Christian		English			no	everyday	No
10	P1	14yrs	Female	8	Xhosa	Christian	Mandalay	Xhosa			Yes	twice	No
11	P5	15yrs	Female	8	Xhosa	Christian	Khayelitsha	Xhosa			no	never	No
12	P9	12yrs	Female	8	Xhosa	Christian	Khayelitsha	Xhosa			Yes	three times	No
13	P14	15yrs	Female	8	Xhosa	ATR		Xhosa			no	everyday	No
14	P6	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian	Heideveld	English			no	never	No
15	P13	15yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	Afrikaans			no	once	No
16	P16	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian	Delft	English			no	never	No
17	P18	16yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English			no	twice	No
18	P20	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian	Mitchells Plain	English	Manager	Nurse	no	never	No
19	P21	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian		Afrikaans			Yes	six times	No
20	P22	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Manager	Housewife	no	never	No
21	P19	13yrs	Male	8	Coloured	Christian	Bonteheuvel	English			no	never	No
22	P12	16yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English		Housewife	Yes	never	No
23	P32	16yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Christian	Parkwood	Afrikaans			Yes	never	No
24	P33	15yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	Afrikaans	Unemployed	Counterhand	Yes	everyday	No
25	P34	16yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Islam	Muizenberg	Afrikaans		Housewife	Yes	once	No
26	P37	14yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Christian	Garden Village	English		Deceased	Yes	once	No
27	P39	14yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Christian	Bonteheuvel	Afrikaans			Yes	three times	No
28	P52	15yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Christian	Bonteheuvel	Afrikaans	Supervisor	Machinist	no	never	No
29	P67	15yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Christian	Pinelands	English	Photographic Journalist	PRO manager	Yes	three times	No
30	P94	16yrs	Female	9	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English			Yes	everyday	No
31	P49	15yrs	Female	9	Xhosa	Christian	Khayelitsha	Xhosa			Yes	three times	No
32	P96	15yrs	Female	9	Xhosa	Christian	Khayelitsha	Xhosa			yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
33	P97	15yrs	Female	9	Xhosa	Christian	Mitchells Plain	Xhosa			no	never	Yes, but not a gang member
34	P31	14yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Observatory	Afrikaans			Yes	five times	No
35	P35	14yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	Afrikaans	Salesman	Housewife	no	never	No
36	P36	17yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	Afrikaans			Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
37	P40	14yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Boilermaker	Secretary	no	never	No
38	P61	15yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Lavender Hill	English			Yes	five times	No
39	P75	16yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	Afrikaans		Housewife	Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
40	P93	15yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Maitland	English	Salesman	Housewife	Yes	never	No
41	P66	16yrs	Male	9	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	English			Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
42	P51	16yrs	Male	9	Xhosa	Christian	Gugulethu	Xhosa			no	never	No
43	P56	16yrs	Male	9	Xhosa	Christian	Gugulethu	Xhosa	Engineer	Domestic Worker	Yes	never	No
44	P60	13yrs	Male	9	Xhosa	Christian		Xhosa			Yes	never	No
45	P73	17yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Christian	Westridge	English	Medical Underwriter	Dressmaker	yes	three times	No
46	P44	15yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English	Carpenter	Housewife	no	never	No
47	P45	15yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English	Medical Officer	Housewife	no	never	No
48	P54	16yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	English			no	never	No
49	P55	16yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Christian	Elsies River	English	Electrician	Machinist	Yes	never	No
50	P74	17yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Christian	Lentegeur	English	Storeman	Factory Worker	Yes	twice	No
51	P53	16yrs	Female	10	Coloured	Christian	Greenpoint	English			no	never	No
52	P59	16yrs	Female	10	Sotho	ATR	Woodstock	English	Manager		Yes	once	No
53	P47	16yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Christian	Bridgetown	English	Self Employed		Yes	once	Yes, but not a gang member
54	P48	16yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English		Saleslady	no	never	No
55	P62	15yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	Afrikaans			Yes	once	Yes, a gang member
56	P63	16yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Christian	Grassy Park	English			Yes	once	No
57	P64	16yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English			no	never	No
58	P72	16yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Islam	Colorado Park	English			yes	everyday	No
59	P68	15yrs	Male	10	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Carpenter	Housewife	no	never	No
60	P81	17yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Observatory	English	Driver	Clerk	no	never	No
61	P85	16yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English		Housewife	Yes	five times	Yes, but not a gang member
62	P100	16yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Engineer	Unemployed	Yes	everyday	No
63	P105	16yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English		Supervisor	no	never	Yes, but not a gang member
64	P112	18yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English	Tiler	Unemployed	Yes	twice	No
65	P113	17yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	Afrikaans			Yes	twice	No
66	P115	17yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	Afrikaans	Driver	Housewife	Yes	once	No
67	P123	16yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Mitchells Plain	English	Carpenter	Unemployed	Yes	twice	No
68	P124	16yrs	Female	11	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Unemployed	Accountant	Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
69	P83	16yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Kensington	English	Building Constructor	Sales Consultant	no	never	No
70	P86	19yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Mitchells Plain	English	Manager	Unemployed	Yes	six times	No
71	P91	17yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Islam	Bonteheuvel	English			Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
72	P92	17yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	English	Handyman	Domestic Worker	Yes	four times	Yes, a gang member
73	P102	17yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Islam	Walmer Estate	English	Geologist	Unemployed	no	once	No
74	P106	15yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Clerk	Machinist	no	never	Yes, a gang member
75	P116	18yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Islam	Mitchells Plain	Afrikaans	Driver		Yes	six times	Yes, a gang member
76	P117	16yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Kensington	Afrikaans	Builder	Nurse	no	never	No
77	P118	17yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Bonteheuvel	Afrikaans	Driver	Unemployed	no	never	Yes, but not a gang member
78	P120	16yrs	Male	11	Coloured	Christian	Maitland	Afrikaans	Cargo Coordinator	Unemployed	Yes	three times	No
79	P87	17yrs	Male	11	Xhosa	Christian	Khayelitsha	Xhosa	Self Employed	Unemployed	Yes	everyday	Yes, a gang member
80	P77	18yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	English	Courier	Receptionist	Yes	never	No
81	P78	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Athlone	English	Salesman	Quality Controller	Yes	once	No
82	P79	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Islam	Mannenbergh	English		Quality Controller	Yes	never	No
83	P99	18yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English	Driver	Housewife	Yes	five times	No
84	P101	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Woodstock	Afrikaans	Seaman	Nurse	Yes	once	No
85	P108	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Mitchells Plain	English	Sub-contractor	Unemployed	Yes	everyday	No
86	P110	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	English		Cashier	Yes	never	No
87	P111	19yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	English			no	never	No
88	P114	17yrs	Female	12	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	Afrikaans			no	never	No
89	P76	18yrs	Female	12	Sotho	Christian	Salt River	English	Guard		Yes	once	No
90	P88	17yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Christian	Hanover Park	Afrikaans			Yes	twice	No
91	P98	19yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Salesman	Housewife	Yes	once	No
92	P103	19yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Christian	Salt River	English	Manager	Dental Assistant	Yes	three times	No
93	P104	19yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Islam	Woodstock	English	Craftsman	Self Employed	Yes	twice	No
94	P107	17yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Christian	Bonteheuvel	English			Yes	four times	No
95	P109	20yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English	Clerk	Housewife	Yes	never	No
96	P119	18yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	English			Yes	three times	No
97	P125	19yrs	Male	12	Coloured	Islam	Salt River	Afrikaans		Housewife	Yes	never	Yes, but not a gang member

# RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

Learner	Q18 saw someone with a knife at school	Q19 You got in a physical fight with someone at school	Q20 saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school	Q21 Someone verbally threatened you at school	Q22 Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon at school	Q23 Gangs outside of School	Q26 Frequency of gang activities outside of school
P2	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P10	No	No	No	No	No	yes	four times
P23	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P25	No	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	never
P26	No	No	No	No	No	no	never
P27	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	never
P28	No	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P29	No	No	No	No	No	yes	never
P24	yes, a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	never
P1	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P5	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	twice
P9	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	twice
P14	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P6	No	No	No	No	No	yes	three times
P13	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P16	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P18	No	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P20	No	No	No	No	No	yes	never
P21	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P22	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P19	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	three times
P12	yes, a gang member	No	No	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	five times
P32	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P33	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P34	yes, a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	three times
P37	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P39	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P52	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	yes	four times
P67	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	three times
P94	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P49	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	three times
P66	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P97	No	No	No	No	No	yes	once
P31	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	four times
P35	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P36	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P40	No	No	No	No	No	yes	once
P61	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	six times
P75	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P93	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	no	never
P66	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P51	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P56	yes, a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	once
P60	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	three times
P73	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P44	No	No	No	No	No	no	never
P45	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	no	never
P54	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P55	No	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P74	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	never
P53	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	never
P59	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P47	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	four times
P48	No	No	No	No	No	no	never
P62	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P63	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	never
P64	No	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	four times
P72	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P68	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	no	never
P81	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P85	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	five times
P100	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P105	yes, a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P112	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P113	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P115	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P123	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P124	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P83	yes, a gang member	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	twice
P86	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	yes	six times
P91	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	yes	Everyday
P92	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	four times
P102	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	six times
P106	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	three times
P116	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	six times
P117	No	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P118	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	never
P120	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	four times
P87	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	Everyday
P77	No	No	No	No	No	yes	twice
P78	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	three times
P79	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P89	yes, a gang member	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P101	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	three times
P108	No	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	three times
P110	No	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P111	No	No	No	No	No	yes	once
P114	No	No	No	No	No	yes	Everyday
P76	No	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P88	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P98	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	once
P103	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	everyday
P104	yes, a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	Everyday
P107	yes, a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	Yes, but not a gang member	No	yes	six times
P109	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, but not a gang member	No	No	yes	once
P119	Yes, but not a gang member	No	Yes, a gang member	No	No	yes	twice
P125	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	No	yes	three times

RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

	Q28	Q29	Q30	Q31	Q32	Q33
Learner	punched,slapped,or kicked on purpose	Verbally threatened	Threatened or injured with weapon	saw someone with a gun	saw someone with a knife	saw someone being hit or physically hurt
P2	no	no	no	no	no	no
P10	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no
P23	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P25	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no
P26	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member
P27	no	no	no	no	no	no
P28	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	no
P29	no	no	no	no	no	no
P24	no	no	no	no	no	no
P1	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P5	yes, a gang member	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no
P9	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P14	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no
P6	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	no	no
P13	no	no	no	no	no	no
P16	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no
P18	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	no
P20	no	no	no	no	no	no
P21	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P22	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	no
P19	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P12	no	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member
P32	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P33	yes, a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P34	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	no
P37	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P39	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P52	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member
P67	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P94	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P49	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P96	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P97	no	no	no	no	no	no
P31	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P35	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member
P36	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P40	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P61	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P75	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P93	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	no
P66	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P51	no	no	no	no	no	no
P56	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P60	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P73	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member
P44	no	no	no	no	no	no
P45	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P54	no	no	no	no	no	no
P55	no	no	no	no	no	no
P74	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member
P53	no	no	no	no	no	no
P59	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member
P47	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P48	no	no	no	no	no	no
P62	no	no	no	no	no	no
P63	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P64	no	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member
P72	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P68	no	no	no	no	no	no
P81	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	no
P85	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P100	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P105	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no
P112	no	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member
P113	no	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member
P115	no	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member
P123	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P124	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	yes, by a gang member
P83	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P86	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P91	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P92	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P102	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P106	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, but not a gang member
P116	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P117	no	no	no	no	no	no
P118	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P120	no	no	no	Yes, a gang member	Yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P87	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P77	no	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P78	no	no	no	no	no	no
P79	no	yes, but not a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P99	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P101	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	no
P108	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P110	no	no	no	no	no	no
P111	no	no	no	no	no	no
P114	no	no	no	no	no	no
P76	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P88	no	yes, a gang member	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P98	no	yes, a gang member	no	no	yes, a gang member	no
P103	no	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P104	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P107	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member
P109	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member
P119	no	no	no	yes, a gang member	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member
P125	no	no	no	yes, but not a gang member	yes, a gang member	yes, a gang member

# RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

	Q34	Q35	Q36	Q37	Q38	Q39	Q40	Q41
Learner	Saw someone being threatened	Grades in school	Smoking	Started smoking cigarettes	Marijuana	Starting smoking marijuana	Drinking	Started drinking Alcohol
P2	yes, but not a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P10	no	C	no		no		no	
P23	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		no	
P25	no	B	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P26	yes, but not a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P27	no	A	no		no		no	
P28	no	C	no		no		no	
P29	no	A	no		no		no	
P24	no	B	no		no		no	
P1	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P5	yes, a gang member	A	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P9	yes, but not a gang member	F	no		no		no	
P14	yes, but not a gang member	E	no		no		yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P6	no	D	no		no		no	
P13	no	A	no		no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P16	no	D	no		no		no	
P18	yes, but not a gang member	B	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		no	
P20	no	B	no		no		no	
P21	yes, but not a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		no	
P22	yes, a gang member	A	no		no		no	
P19	yes, a gang member	A	no		no		no	
P12	no	E	no		no		no	
P32	no	B	yes, at school	11 or 12 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P33	yes, a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	8 years old or younger	no		yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P34	no	B	no		no		no	
P37	no	D	no		no		no	
P39	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years older	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P52	yes, a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	8 years old or younger	no		yes, but not at school	8 years old or younger
P67	yes, but not a gang member	B	yes, at school	11 or 12 years old	no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P94	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P49	yes, a gang member	F	no		no		yes, but not at school	
P96	yes, but not a gang member	A	no		no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P97	no	D	no		no		no	
P31	no	C	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		no	
P35	yes, a gang member	E	no		no		no	
P36	yes, but not a gang member	E	no		no		no	
P40	yes, a gang member	B	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		no	
P61	yes, a gang member	F	no		no		yes, but not at school	8 years old or younger
P75	yes, but not a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		yes, but not at school	8 years old or younger
P93	no	D	no		no		no	
P66	yes, a gang member	D	yes, at school	13 or 14 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P51	no	D	no		no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P56	no	B	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P60	no	D	no		no		yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P73	no	D	no		no		no	
P44	no	D	no		no		no	
P45	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		no	
P54	yes, but not a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P55	no	D	no		no		no	
P74	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, at school	11 or 12 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years older	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P53	no	D	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P59	yes, a gang member	D	yes, at school	9 or 10 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years older	no	
P47	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, at school	13 or 14 years old	no		yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P48	no	D	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		no	
P62	no	D	no		no		no	
P63	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P64	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P72	yes, but not a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		no	
P68	no	D	no		no		no	
P81	yes, but not a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P85	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P100	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P105	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		no	
P112	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		no	
P113	no	D	no		no		no	
P115	yes, but not a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P123	yes, by a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		no	
P124	yes, by a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	9 or 10 years old	no		no	
P83	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P86	yes, a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	17 years old or older	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P91	yes, a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P92	yes, a gang member	E	no		yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no	
P102	yes, a gang member	E	no		no		no	
P106	yes, but not a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	9 or 10 years old	no		no	
P116	yes, a gang member	D	yes, at school	11 or 12 years old	no		no	
P117	no	B	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no		no	
P118	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P120	yes, but not a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P87	yes, a gang member	C	yes, but not at school	9 or 10 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years older	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old
P77	no	D	no		no		no	
P78	no	D	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	no	
P79	yes, but not a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old
P99	yes, but not a gang member	D	yes, at school	13 or 14 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P101	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years
P108	yes, a gang member	E	no		no		no	
P110	no	B	no		no		no	
P111	no	F	no		no		no	
P114	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P76	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P88	yes, a gang member	C	no		no		no	
P98	no	E	no		no		no	
P103	no	E	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	no		no	
P104	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	15 or 16 years old	yes, but not at school	17 years old or older	no	
P107	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		yes, but not at school	17 years old or older
P109	yes, a gang member	E	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old	no		yes, but not at school	17 years old or older
P119	yes, a gang member	D	no		no		no	
P125	yes, a gang member	D	yes, but not at school	11 or 12 years old	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years older	yes, but not at school	13 or 14 years old



RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

Learner	Q42 Carried a knife for protection	Q43 Carried a gun for protection	Q44 Carried a weapon to school	Q45 Considered carrying a weapon	Q46 Did not go to school	Q47 Feel Safer if I carried a weapon	Q48 Reading Carefully	Q49 Carried a knife outside school	Q50 Carried a gun outside school	Q51 joined a gang	Q52 considered joining a gang
P2	no	no	no	no	no		yes	yes	no	no	no
P10	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P23	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
P25	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P26	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P27	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P28	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P29	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P24	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
P1	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
P5	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P9	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P14	yes	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no
P6	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P13	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P16	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P18	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P20	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P21	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P22	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P19	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
P12	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P32	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes
P33	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
P34	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P37	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes
P39	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
P52	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes
P67	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P94	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no	no	no
P49	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
P96	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
P97	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P31	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P35	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P36	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P40	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P61	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
P75	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P93	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P66	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P51	no	No	No	No	No	No	yes	yes	yes	no	no
P56	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P60	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
P73	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P44	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P45	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P54	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P55	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P74	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P53	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P59	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P47	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P48	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P62	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P63	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P64	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P72	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P68	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P81	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P85	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P100	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P105	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P112	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P113	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P115	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P123	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P124	no	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P83	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P86	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
P91	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
P92	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	yes
P102	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P106	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P116	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no
P117	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
P118	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P120	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P87	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
P77	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P78	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P79	no	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P99	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P101	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P108	no	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P110	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P111	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P114	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P76	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P88	no	no	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
P98	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P103	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P104	no	no	no	yes	no	no	yes	yes	no	no	no
P107	no	no	no	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P109	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P119	no	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no	no	no	no
P125	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	no



RESULTS of Learners on the School Safety Survey

	Q53	Q54	Q55	Q56	Q58	Q61
Learner	telling the truth	Physical fight outside school	It feels good when I hit someone	Report Gang Activity	Crime Prevention Programmes at school	Willing to be part of crime prevention initiatives
P2	yes	yes	no	yes	no	maybe
P10	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P23	no	yes	no	no	no	yes
P25	yes	no	no	no	no	no
P26	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P27	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
P28	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P29	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P24	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
P1	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P5	yes	yes	no			
P9	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
P14	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P6	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
P13	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
P16	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P18	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes
P20	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P21	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P22	yes	no	no	yes	yes	maybe
P19	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P12	yes	no	no	no	yes	no
P32	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
P33	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes
P34	yes	no	no	yes	yes	maybe
P37	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
P39	yes	no	yes	no	no	maybe
P52	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P67	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
P94	yes	no	no	yes	no	no
P49	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
P96	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P97	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P31	yes	no	no	no	yes	maybe
P35	yes	no	no	yes	yes	maybe
P36	yes	no	no	yes	yes	maybe
P40	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no
P61	no	yes	yes	no	no	maybe
P75	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	maybe
P93	yes	no	no	no	no	no
P66	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	no
P51	yes	yes	no	no	no	maybe
P56	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P60	no	no	no	yes	no	no
P73	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
P44	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P45	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P54	yes	no	no	yes	yes	maybe
P55	yes	no	no	yes	yes	yes
P74	yes	no	no	maybe	yes	maybe
P53	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P59	yes	yes	no	no	no	maybe
P47	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
P48	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P62	yes	yes	no	no	no	maybe
P63	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P64	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
P72	yes	no	no	yes	maybe	maybe
P68	yes	no	no	no	no	no
P81	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P85	yes	no	yes	yes	no	yes
P100	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P105	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P112	yes	yes	no	yes	no	maybe
P113	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P115	yes	no	no	no	yes	no
P123	yes	yes	no	yes	no	maybe
P124	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P83	yes	yes	no	yes	no	maybe
P86	yes	no	yes	no	no	no
P91	yes	yes	no	no	no	maybe
P92	yes	yes	no	no	no	maybe
P102	yes	yes	no	yes	no	maybe
P106	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P116	yes	yes	yes	no	no	maybe
P117	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P118	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P120	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	maybe
P87	yes	yes	yes	no	no	maybe
P77	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P78	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P79	yes	yes	yes	maybe	no	maybe
P99	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P101	yes	no	yes	no	no	yes
P108	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
P110	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P111	yes	no	no	yes	no	maybe
P114	yes	no	no	no	no	maybe
P76	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
P88	yes	no	no	no	no	yes
P98	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P103	yes	no	no	no	no	no
P104	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
P107	yes	yes	no	yes	no	yes
P109	yes	no	no	yes	no	yes
P119	yes	no	no	no	no	no
P125	yes	yes	no	no	no	yes

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **Content**

- **6.1.** Grade differences in exposure to gang violence and other high-risk behaviour in school
- **6.2.** Grade differences in exposure to gang violence and other high-risk behaviour outside of school
- **6.3.** Grade differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour

**Appendix. 6.1. Grade Differences in learners' exposure to  
gang and non-gang violence in school (n=97)**

Responses to Survey Items																
Survey Items		ALL		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Grade Comparisons		
	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun at school	No	79	81.44%	20	25.32%	18	22.78%	13	16.46%	11	13.92%	17	21.52%	15.71107	8	0.04672
	Yes, a gang member	12	12.37%	1	8.33%	4	33.33%	1	8.33%	6	50.00%	0	0.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	6	6.19%	0	0.00%	1	16.67%	1	16.67%	3	50.00%	1	16.67%			
Saw someone with a knife at school	No	31	31.96%	14	36.84%	4	10.53%	7	18.42%	6	15.79%	7	18.42%	20.2958	8	0.00928
	Yes, a gang member	38	39.18%	2	7.14%	10	35.71%	1	3.57%	10	35.71%	5	17.86%			
	Yes, not a gang member	28	28.87%	5	16.13%	9	29.03%	7	22.58%	4	12.90%	6	19.35%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt at school	No	38	39.18%	10	26.32%	10	26.32%	5	13.16%	6	15.79%	7	18.42%	4.552718	8	0.80413
	Yes, a gang member	24	24.74%	2	8.33%	6	25.00%	4	16.67%	7	29.17%	5	20.83%			
	Yes, not a gang member	35	36.08%	9	25.71%	7	20.00%	6	17.14%	7	20.00%	6	17.14%			
Someone verbally Threatened you at school	No	69	71.13%	18	26.09%	14	20.29%	11	15.94%	13	18.84%	13	18.84%	6.394479	8	0.60314
	Yes, a gang member	15	15.46%	2	13.33%	6	40.00%	1	6.67%	3	20.00%	3	20.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	13	13.40%	1	7.69%	3	23.08%	3	23.08%	4	30.77%	2	15.38%			
Got in a physical fight with someone at school	No	66	68.04%	16	24.24%	10	15.15%	11	16.67%	15	22.73%	14	21.21%	9.31407	8	0.31651
	Yes, a gang member	10	10.31%	1	10.00%	4	40.00%	1	10.00%	2	20.00%	2	20.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	21	21.65%	4	19.05%	9	42.86%	3	14.29%	3	14.29%	2	20.00%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon at school	No	95	97.94%	21	22.11%	23	24.21%	15	15.79%	18	18.95%	18	18.95%	7.862105	8	0.44706
	Yes, a gang member	1	1.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	1	1.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			

**Appendix. 6.2 Grade Differences in learners' exposure to gang and non-gang violence outside of school (n=97)**

Responses to Survey Items																
Survey Items		ALL		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Grade Comparisons		
	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Chi Square	df	p
Saw someone with a gun outside of school	No	52	53.61%	11	21.15%	13	25.00%	12	23.08%	8	15.38%	8	15.38%	13.95405	8	0.08299
	Yes, a gang member	37	38.14%	6	16.22%	8	21.62%	2	5.41%	12	32.43%	9	24.32%			
	Yes, not a gang member	8	8.25%	4	50.00%	2	25.00%	1	12.50%	0	0.00%	1	12.50%			
Saw someone with a knife outside of school	No	33	34.02%	8	24.24%	5	15.15%	11	33.33%	5	15.15%	4	12.12%	21.62012	8	0.00567
	Yes, a gang member	42	43.30%	7	16.67%	9	21.00%	2	4.76%	12	28.57%	12	28.57%			
	Yes, not a gang member	22	22.68%	6	27.27%	9	40.91%	2	9.09%	3	13.64%	2	9.09%			
Saw someone being hit or physically hurt on purpose outside of school	No	35	36.08%	15	42.86%	4	11.43%	7	20.00%	3	8.57%	6	17.14%	22.31376	8	0.00437
	Yes, a gang member	39	40.21%	2	5.13%	14	35.90%	4	10.26%	11	28.21%	8	20.51%			
	Yes, not a gang member	23	23.71%	4	17.39%	5	21.74%	4	17.39%	6	26.09%	4	17.39%			
Saw someone being threatened outside of school	No	35	36.08%	10	28.57%	10	28.57%	7	20.00%	2	5.71%	6	17.14%	17.20423	8	0.02806
	Yes, a gang member	39	40.21%	3	7.69%	9	23.08%	4	10.26%	13	33.33%	10	25.64%			
	Yes, not a gang member	23	23.71%	8	34.78%	4	17.39%	4	17.39%	5	21.74%	2	8.70%			
Someone threatened or injured you with a weapon outside of school	No	88	90.72%	20	22.73%	21	23.86%	15	17.05%	16	18.18%	16	18.18%	7.137273	8	0.5219
	Yes, a gang member	8	8.25%	1	12.50%	2	25.00%	0	0.00%	3	37.50%	2	25.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	1	1.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100.00%	0	0.00%			
Someone punched, slapped or kicked you on purpose outside of school	No	74	76.29%	16	21.62%	14	18.92%	12	16.22%	16	21.62%	16	21.62%	6.660973	8	0.57362
	Yes, a gang member	10	10.31%	2	20.00%	5	50.00%	1	10.00%	2	20.00%	0	0.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	13	13.40%	3	23.08%	4	30.77%	2	15.38%	2	15.38%	2	15.38%			
Someone verbally threatened you outside of school	No	72	74.23%	18	25.00%	18	25.00%	12	16.67%	13	18.06%	11	15.28%	16.15435	8	0.04023
	Yes, a gang member	15	15.46%	0	0.00%	5	33.33%	0	0.00%	4	26.67%	6	40.00%			
	Yes, not a gang member	10	10.31%	3	30.00%	0	0.00%	3	30.00%	3	30.00%	1	10.00%			

**Appendix. 6.3. Grade differences in learners' participation in high-risk behaviour (n=97)**

Responses to Survey Items																
Survey Items		ALL		Grade 8		Grade 9		Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12		Grade Comparisons		
	Categories	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	Observed Frequencies	%	ChiSquare	df	p
I smoke cigarettes	No	56	57.73%	15	26.79%	13	23.21%	8	14.29%	10	17.86%	10	17.86%	7.602521	8	0.47323
	Yes, at school	8	8.25%	0	0.00%	3	37.50%	3	37.50%	1	12.50%	1	12.50%			
	Yes, but not at school	33	34.02%	6	18.18%	7	21.21%	4	12.12%	9	27.27%	7	21.21%			
I smoke marijuana (dagga) or other illegal drugs	No	81	83.51%	21	25.93%	20	24.69%	12	14.81%	16	19.75%	12	14.81%	8.364492	4	0.07911
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	16	16.49%	0	0.00%	3	18.75%	3	18.75%	4	25.00%	6	37.50%			
I drink beer, wine or other alcohol	No	67	69.07%	16	23.88%	10	14.93%	12	17.91%	17	25.37%	12	17.91%	10.8131	4	0.02875
	Yes, at school	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
	Yes, but not at school	30	30.93%	5	16.67%	13	43.33%	3	10.00%	3	10.00%	6	20.00%			
I have carried a knife for protection at school	Yes	11	11.34%	2	18.18%	3	27.27%	1	9.09%	4	36.36%	1	9.09%	2.551968	4	0.63536
	No	86	88.66%	19	22.09%	20	23.26%	14	16.28%	16	18.60%	17	19.77%			
I have carried a gun for protection at school	Yes	1	1.03%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	100%	0	0.00%	3.890104	4	0.42109
	No	96	98.97%	21	21.88%	23	23.96%	15	15.63%	19	19.79%	18	18.75%			
I carried some weapon (not a gun or knife) for protection to school	Yes	11	11.34%	1	9.09%	3	27.27%	1	9.09%	4	36.36%	2	18.18%	2.78878	4	0.59377
	No	86	88.66%	20	23.26%	20	23.26%	14	16.28%	16	18.60%	16	18.60%			
I have seriously considered carrying a weapon to school	Yes	24	24.74%	4	16.67%	6	25.00%	1	4.17%	10	41.67%	3	12.50%	10.50266	4	0.03277
	No	73	75.26%	17	23.29%	17	23.19%	14	19.18%	10	13.70%	15	20.55%			
I did not go to school because I felt I would not be safe	Yes	13	13.40%	1	7.69%	3	23.08%	0	0.00%	5	38.46%	4	30.77%	7.1993	4	0.12573
	No	84	86.60%	20	23.81%	20	23.81%	15	17.86%	15	17.86%	14	16.67%			
I would feel safer if I carried a weapon	Yes	28	28.87%	5	17.86%	7	25.00%	2	7.14%	9	32.14%	5	17.86%	4.597321	4	0.33117
	No	69	71.13%	16	23.19%	16	23.19%	13	18.84%	11	15.94%	13	18.84%			
I have carried a knife for protection outside of school	Yes	26	26.80%	5	19.23%	7	26.92%	1	3.85%	8	30.77%	5	19.23%	5.134655	4	0.27377
	No	71	73.20%	16	22.54%	16	22.54%	14	19.72%	12	16.90%	13	18.31%			
I have carried a gun for protection outside of school	Yes	9	9.28%	1	11.11%	3	33.33%	0	0.00%	3	33.33%	1	22.22%	3.280011	4	0.51211
	No	88	90.72%	20	22.73%	20	22.73%	15	17.05%	17	19.32%	16	18.18%			
I have joined a gang (a group involved in violent or illegal activities)	Yes	11	11.34%	2	18.18%	6	54.55%	0	0.00%	2	18.18%	1	9.09%	7.597086	4	0.10751
	No	86	88.66%	19	22.09%	17	19.77%	15	17.44%	18	20.93%	17	19.77%			
I have seriously considered joining a gang	Yes	13	13.40%	2	15.38%	6	46.15%	0	0.00%	5	38.46%	0	0.00%	10.88605	4	0.02788
	No	84	86.60%	19	22.62%	17	20.24%	15	17.86%	15	17.86%	18	21.43%			
I got in a physical fight with someone outside of school	Yes	32	32.99%	7	21.88%	6	18.75%	4	12.50%	10	31.25%	5	15.63%	3.607109	4	0.46178
	No	65	67.01%	14	21.54%	17	26.15%	11	16.92%	10	15.38%	13	20.00%			
It feels good when I hit someone	Yes	14	14.43%	1	7.14%	5	35.71%	1	7.14%	5	35.71%	2	14.29%	5.286254	4	0.25917
	No	83	85.57%	20	24.10%	18	21.69%	14	16.87%	15	18.07%	16	19.28%			